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OBSERVATIONS IN THE EAST,

CHIEFLY IN

EGYPT, PALESTINE, SYRIA, AND ASIA MINOR.

BY

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P R E F A C E.

IN the Preface to a former work,* I promised to offer to my friends and the public the results of my observations during an extended tour in the East, through Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. That promise is now redeemed.

Believing that readers of a book of travels are not likely to take an interest in any scenes which have not impressed themselves so strongly upon the writer's mind as to remain distinctly in his memory, I have excluded from these pages such portions of my journals as I found, upon reading them after the lapse of a considerable time, to have escaped my recollection. I may hope, therefore, that the brief descriptions here given of scenes and incidents that have left a permanent impression upon my own mind, will be a source of pleasure, and perhaps of profit, at least to my friends.

Although the reader will be disappointed if he looks for profound research, topographical or antiquarian, in these pages, I may venture to hope that in the observations on various questions connected with the fate of Christianity in the East, which are scattered through the volumes, sometimes interwoven with the narrative, but generally imbodyed in distinct chapters, there will

* Observations in Europe.

be found some important views that have not been presented by my distinguished countrymen who have so lately travelled over the same regions. Indeed, a part of the ground, especially in Syria and Asia Minor, is nearly untrodden by American travellers.

In regard to topography, the only *new* view that I offer in these pages is that of the Exode of Israel from Egypt, for which I have suggested a route differing, in part at least, from any other that I have seen. The reader must judge of the value of the suggestion.

My principal guide-book in the Holy Land, besides the Bible, was the *Biblical Researches* of Messrs. Robinson and Smith. Their exceeding accuracy was a matter of daily surprise to me in my travels through Palestine ; and I must express a deep sense of obligation to such indefatigable and successful observers. I had not then seen Dr. Olin's excellent volumes, which convey a great amount of information, also remarkably accurate. His first volume contains the best account of Egypt that has appeared in this country—perhaps in the language.

I was accompanied during my travels by three young friends, the Rev. Thomas Sewall, of the Baltimore Conference, Mr. James Cortlan, of Baltimore, and Mr. J. O'Hara Denny, of Pittsburg, to whose vivacity and constant disposition to oblige I was greatly indebted. Their presence with me will explain the use of the pronoun *we* in these volumes.

J. P. DURBIN.

September, 1845.

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AMID the roar of cannon accompanying the closing hours of the Christmas festival, we embarked in the fine steamer Eurotas, and soon bade farewell to the Bay of Naples.

Our vessel was an excellent sea-boat, very tight and steady. The officers, though Frenchmen, were distant, haughty, and exceedingly reserved; but the company on board was excellent, which made the trip to Malta very agreeable. We had, among the rest, two Capucins, on their way to India as missionaries; one of them bigoted and morose enough, but the other a cheerful, even jovial fellow. I spent the two evenings of our stay on board delightfully, walking the deck—Christmas week though it was—as if it were summer, watching the receding shores, first of Calabria, then of Sicily and talking with my pleasant Capucin, who, in spite of his coarse brown cloak and hood, was full of good fellowship.

At three o'clock on the afternoon of December 27th,
VOL. I.—A

we came to anchor under the walls of Valetta. A set of wild Maltese immediately boarded us, who had to be literally kicked out by the officers; and when we reached the landing another gang assailed us—tawny, savage-looking fellows—whose wild gestures and mongrel language convinced us that we were passing into the region of Oriental influences. The wharves and streets were infested with these semi-Arabs. We made good our escape from them by the aid of George, our Greek courier, whom we had engaged at Naples, and the interposition of a police officer, and soon found our way to the Clarence Hotel, in the Strada Reale, where we felt that we were still in Europe.

Although our stay in Malta was so short that we could not do more than see Valetta and its environs, we yet found enough to make us wish that we had more time at our disposal. The city itself is a curiosity in many respects. It is, perhaps, next to Gibraltar, the most impregnable position in the world. It appeared to us, on entering the harbour, that the fortresses which guard its narrow mouth might not only resist, but even annihilate, any naval force that could be brought against them. The frowning forts of St. Elmo on the right, and Ricasoli on the left, might crush the most powerful vessel in passing through the narrow entrance. The city is neat, well built, and contains about 40,000 inhabitants. Its massive walls rise from the water's edge, and are surmounted with heavy ordnance, so that on all sides it appears like a fortress rather than a town.

Such, indeed, its founder, Valette, the most celebrated of the grand masters of the Order of St. John, intended it to be. Driven from Rhodes by the Turks in 1522, the knights established themselves in Malta, and determined to fortify their position against any possible at-

tacks of the Saracens. Solyman the Magnificent, who had driven them from Rhodes, determined, in 1565, to accomplish their expulsion from Malta, and sent Mustapha Pacha, with 30,000 men and ample munitions of war, to execute his purpose. The siege, which is the most memorable, perhaps, in history for its severity, was raised at the end of four months, and the knights were left in peace, but their town and fortress were battered to pieces. La Valette laid the foundation of the new city which bears his name in 1566, and commenced the marvellous fortifications which are still the wonder of the world.

The history of the Knights Hospitallers, up to the seventeenth century, is a splendid one, full of all the elements of romance. After that period their exploits were comparatively insignificant, though their wealth and splendour continued to increase. The city of Valetta contains abundant monuments of their taste and magnificence. Each grand master attempted to excel his predecessors in beautifying the capital, and adding to the strength of its fortifications. The order was divided into eight *langues* or nations—the German, Italian, Castilian, Aragonese, Provençal, Auvergnese, French, and English. The English branch of the order, however, was dissolved by Henry VIII., and its property in Britain confiscated. Each of these branches had immense possessions in the different countries of Europe, and much of their revenue was spent in Malta. This will account for the enormous forts, the subterranean excavations, and the splendid palaces which remain in the island to attest the wealth and enterprise of the knights. Each *langue* had its separate palace in Valetta, and these splendid edifices constitute the principal charm of the city. These abodes of luxury were occupied by the

knights until 1798, when the fleet of Napoleon, on its way to Egypt, appeared before the harbour, and the degenerate descendants of L'Isle Adam and La Valette gave up their stronghold without striking a blow. This was the virtual end of the order; the knights were scattered over Europe, and the island was retained by the French for a year and a half, when they, in their turn, surrendered it to the English, after a most pertinacious and heroic resistance. By the Treaty of Amiens, the English government engaged unequivocally to restore the independence of the island; but it was too important a post to be easily parted with, and the government determined to break its promise. The best English authorities have condemned this breach of treaty; but the great advantage to England of possessing such a fortress in the Mediterranean is too powerful for her sense of conventional honour, and the island still remains under her dominion. The mildness and equity of her administration, together with a great increase of population and wealth, have reconciled the inhabitants to her sway; and civilization in the East may yet be largely indebted to the English occupation of Malta.

But to return to Valetta. The principal street of the city is the Strada Reale, which runs along on the summit of the ridge or promontory between the two harbours, from Fort St. Elmo to the chief gate leading out into the interior of the island. It is a very fine street. The building material is the light yellow limestone of the island. The governor's residence, situated in the Strada Reale, and formerly the palace of the grand master, is a spacious and imposing building. In the same street are the exchange, the library, and the principal hotels and shops. The other streets of the city run parallel to this, and are connected with it by various flights of stone

steps, the ascent being too steep on either side to allow of a carriage way.

The Cathedral of St. John is an immense edifice, though presenting no external display of magnificence. We visited it by candlelight, and a most interesting visit it was. As we walked over its rich mosaic pavement, emblazoned with the armorial bearings of the knights who sleep below—wandered through the side-chapels belonging to the different *languages*, adorned with paintings and rich in sculpture, and descended into the solemn crypt, filled with monuments of the grand masters in bronze or marble, and hung with highly-wrought tapestry representing the life of the Saviour, we could not but recall to mind the days of chivalry of which these valiant knights of St. John were so distinguished an ornament. Few edifices in Europe are more impressive than this Cathedral.

But I must say no more of our stay in Malta. We should have prolonged it gladly had our plans allowed; but the winter was rapidly passing, and we were hastening to the East. The fine French steamer *Scamander* was in the western or quarantine port; a small boat took our luggage, another ourselves, to the side of the vessel, as she lay in quarantine, where we were deserted by the officers who had accompanied us. We felt, as we ascended to the deck, that we were cut off from Europe, for we had entered the dominion of the Plague. Five minutes after the anchor was weighed we were rising and sinking upon the sea-waves, so closely is Malta invested by the Mediterranean.

We had chiefly the same passengers who had embarked with us from Naples. The weather was mild, and we remained on deck nearly the whole time. The sailors were barefooted, and every morning were en-

gaged in scrubbing and flooding the ship. The metal parts were polished and oiled ; everything was kept in order without noise. On the morning of December 30 we came in sight of Greece, and ran along the southern coast all day. Her mountains were in view, among which the snowy Taygetus appeared pre-eminent. Night came down upon us off the Gulf of Nauplia ; and, as the sun rose next morning, we let go our anchor in the beautiful semicircular bay of Syra, and hastening on deck, I found myself amid the isles of Greece. It is impossible to give the reader any just conceptions of the profound and pleasing emotions which a traveller experiences when, for the first time, he can say, I am in Greece !

But we are bound for the East, and must not loiter by the way, even in Greece. So, on the afternoon of New-Year's day, we transhipped from the Scamander to the Dante, another French steamer, bound to Alexandria in Egypt. We lost by the change, for, although she was strongly built, she was slow of speed and badly formed. But we had the world on board. There were Turks, Tartars, English, Germans, Italians, Greeks, Armenians, French, Americans, and what not, all exhibiting their national and habitual peculiarities. The French sailors, in groups on the forward deck, sung the lively airs of their own beautiful France ; the grave, dignified, dirty Turks hovered around the engine-chimney, and chanted a low, wild, guttural music, in which I could distinguish the word *Allah* often repeated. Some of them rolled themselves up in their quilts, and lay down over the boilers for warmth, while the passengers from more northern and unpropitious climes, and of more active habits, walked the ship, freely enjoying the cool, refreshing sea-breeze. Several Turks retired to the cabin,

and sat cross-legged in their berths; how could they sit upright upon chairs like Christians? Our party and the Capucins retreated to the cabin adjoining, after having invoked Æolus and Neptune to be more propitious to us than they had been to Paul, when he was in "a ship of Alexandria," on his way to appeal to Cæsar against an avaricious governor of Judea. But our invocation was in vain, for about midnight the sea was up; towards morning "no small tempest was upon us;" and all next day and night the "Euroclydon" was on the waste world of angry waters, and we, with one lone sail to leeward, were the only living things visible on the raging, desolate domain.

On the morning of the fifth of January, as the sun struggled up through the clouds which pressed down heavily on the sea, the low coast of Egypt showed its sand-swells to the east of the Pharos, or lighthouse of Alexandria, and in the course of an hour the fort and indented sand-coast became visible to the west. The sea was exceedingly high, and the pilot-boat had much difficulty in getting to windward so as to give us the direction of the narrow channel between the shore and the breakers which extend westward from the lighthouse. But, having once got our bearings, our gallant steamer moved into the deep, safe harbour, and took her station amid the fleet of merchantmen and Egyptian ships of war. It was an animating sight. But when our anchor was down, then indeed commenced the wild hurrah. Countless caiques and skiffs crowded to the sides of the ship to obtain passengers and luggage. They were full of half-naked, tawny, dirty Arabs and jet black Nubians; the first with heavy coifs around their heads, and the latter with a loose white shirt, and trousers made of coarse muslin, rolled round their thighs, and coiled up

below their knees. Every one talked at the top of his voice, and often with gesticulations so violent as to indicate that momentous matters depended on his being heard. Fortunately, Mr. Rhey, of the Hotel de l'Europe, met with our courier, and, with the aid of his servants, we were all soon disembarked with our luggage, and landed on the dock near the Custom-house. There we found a ragged, wild-looking crowd, with saddled donkeys for passengers, and camels for luggage. The rush upon us was more violent and boisterous than at Malta. We were about to be taken by force, when Mr. Rhey interfered and put us in his carriage, and pointing to a camel, it stalked forward at the bidding, kneeled down with a complaining groan, and lay quietly on its belly. The confused pile of cordage coiled up on the huge wooden packsaddle on the back of the animal was soon opened out into a net-work, spreading on the ground on each side of him, upon which our luggage being placed, and the meshes drawn up by cords so as to bring the load upon the sides and back of the beast, he rose at the bidding of his driver, and moved away. Arriving at the Custom-house, he knelt humbly before a grave, turbaned Turk, who came out in his official robes, looked upon the submissive animal, read a letter which our courier had been prudent enough to obtain at the Turkish consulate in Syra, and graciously permitted our luggage to proceed without fee or reward.

We soon found ourselves in pretty good quarters at the Hotel de l'Europe, eagerly anticipating breakfast, which we could hardly be said to have tasted for four days previously. I looked into the glass, and really felt ashamed of myself, and thought of the man who, to be sure not under quite as sober circumstances, said, when viewing himself in the glass, "*That is not me !*" Such

a beard ! No wonder I did not attract much attention in the street, for I began to appear *à la Turque*. A clean shave, a general shedding off of what does not exactly belong to the body, a replacing by supplies from the port-manteau, and a good breakfast, made all right again.

A little after noon, we proceeded, with Dr. Miller, of Virginia, who had joined us at Syra, to the house over which, on that day for the first time, Mr. Tod had hoisted the American flag. It was gratifying to see it floating amid a dozen other colours of different nations, and we thought it the most beautiful of them all. We found Mr. Tod a very agreeable, intelligent man ; anxious to render us any service, and in all respects worthy of the post of American consul. He is son-in-law to Mr. Gliddon, our consul at Cairo.

Upon leaving Mr. Tod's, our Nubian cicerone, who had learned in the Newcastle coal-trade to speak a little English, proposed to show us the slave market. Following the excellent maxim of never omitting to see anything which we wish to see, when it presents itself, we walked down one of the principal streets to the Turkish Quarter, and soon came to a rough stone building, not more than twenty feet square, with no opening in it but one for a door. Looking in, we found it full of boys and girls, from ten to twenty years of age. The tall, lean Nubian slave-merchant, a savage-looking black, upon hearing the voice of a Frank and an interpreter at the door, rose out of his dark corner, and stood before me, showing his ivory teeth in his eagerness to sell one of his slaves. Seeing my eye rest upon a Nubian girl, of fine full form, with a loose garment wrapped around her shoulders, he made her rise and come forward, and then uncovered her neck and chest, and pressed his hand on her person, evidently to satisfy

me. I asked the price—one hundred and fifteen dollars : I manifested hesitation, and he called up a more delicate and sprightly-looking Abyssinian, with eyebrows painted blue ; made her expose her teeth and tongue ; drew aside her vesture, and invited inspection in the midst of the crowd. I narrowly watched these females during an exposure so singular to us, and could read nothing but submission and indifference to their fate. In one of them there was a slight shrinking, which nature, even under this weight of night, involuntarily compels. I turned away with horror from the scene before me, where virtue had not even the privilege of contest nor the apology of temptation. When the merchant saw it was not my intention to buy, he cried out vehemently for bukshcesh (money), which I gave him, and we departed.

CHAPTER II.

ALEXANDRIA.

Donkeys and Drivers.—Ruins of the Ancient City.—Pompey's Pillar.—Cleopatra's Needles.—Pharos.—The Palace.—A Sentinel.—Bazars.—The Frank Quarter.—Ancient Alexandria.

AT 10 o'clock on the day after our arrival, we all set out on donkeys to see what we might, preceded by a shrewd young Nubian, with a red Fez cap, blue Turkish dress, red shoes turned up at the toes, and white stockings—himself so black that one of the company remarked that we could not see him. I had not proceeded more than fifty yards when I perceived my companions dashing up to me, and, at the same moment, feeling my little donkey spring forward, I looked behind, and saw a tall, thin Arab bounding along, and applying a stick to my steed at every jump. Each donkey had such a driver, and each driver was anxious that his master should be foremost. We all suddenly caught the impulse, and, giving way to it, had a fair race through the great square, yet creating no sensation in the town, except so far as the motley crowd was concerned, whose business it is to give way to the donkeys, even up to the wall of the houses. There are but two classes of people here, those who can afford to ride a donkey at a shilling a day, and those who cannot. Of course the rider has the road, and it seems not to be his business to see who is in it.

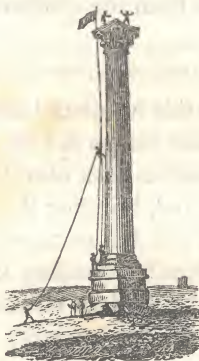
Passing out eastward at the Rosetta gate, we emerged into fields of ruins which extended east, south, and west, both without and within the present walls. They

are heaps of rubbish, the remains of the ancient city, and vary in size from gentle swells to vast mounds of thirty or even fifty feet in height, on several of which batteries are erected.

In passing over these fields of desolation, we occasionally saw the old foundation walls and arches, and sometimes looked down into an ancient cellar or cistern, thousands of which lie buried below, and extend even under the modern town. These cisterns were filled during the flood in the Nile by means of subterranean canals extending to the river, and afforded delicious water to the inhabitants. In our rambles we occasionally stumbled upon a broken column of white marble or red granite, and now and then upon a fragment of a sphinx or wild boar, and upon blocks of polished marble, proclaiming what Alexandria once was. On the outskirts of the city we frequently saw fragments of beautiful columns built into mud huts, sometimes standing upright and forming the corners. In the Arab quarters the rude porticoes are often supported by red granite shafts, not unfrequently inverted, the capital being made the base. Twenty-five years since the ruins were higher; columns were often seen standing so as to indicate the forms and dimensions of buildings; even streets could be discerned, because the ruins then remained as they fell under the influence of time and the elements. Then there were only eight or ten thousand people dwelling in miserable mud huts: now there are sixty or seventy thousand; and palaces, barracks, forts, and harbours have been constructed out of the solid materials of the ancient capital of Egypt.

On the south of the city, outside of the walls, is a vast cemetery, extending from the gates towards the canal. In the farther edge of it stands Pompey's Pillar,

the most magnificent monument of the ancient city, on an irregular elevation, where most probably once stood a splendid palace, or temple, or portico, or perhaps all three. While walking over the ground around, one easily perceives the buried foundations ridging up under his feet, and most writers speak of a hollow sound, and a shaking of the ground upon being struck with a very heavy weight, inferring therefrom that vast arched substructions still exist there.



The pillar stands alone amid the surrounding desolation—not even a hut near—the burying-ground extending from its base to the gates. The pedestal is composed of large stones, some of marble and others of granite, laid without cement, and some of them so loose as to have been removed and replaced, leaving cracks through which can be seen a low inverted pyramid of white marble, about five feet square at the upper surface, and covered over with hieroglyphics which are also inverted, thus suggesting that the central support, on which the column rests, was part of a more ancient Egyptian structure. The shaft is a single piece of syenite, about seventy feet in length, nine feet diameter at

the base, and eight feet at the top, and surmounted by a coarsely-cut Corinthian capital of a soft material. A practised eye will see in an instant that this remarkable monument has been composed from the ruins of former edifices, for neither the base, nor the shaft, nor the capital agree strictly with each other. It is commonly called Pompey's Pillar, but erroneously, as it was erected in honour of Dioclesian by the prefect Publius, as appears from the following inscription, which has been successfully copied from the southwest side.

PUBLIUS, PREFECT OF EGYPT—TO THE MOST SACRED EMPEROR, THE PRESERVER OF ALEXANDRIA, DIOCLESIAN THE AUGUST.

As one gazes on this wonderful shaft, he involuntarily asks himself, by what means did the ancients raise it to a perpendicular position, then elevate it twelve feet, the height of the base, and, bringing it exactly over the inverted pyramid on which it rests, set it accurately down upon its resting-place? Nothing compared with this has been achieved by modern mechanics.

As I passed through the cemetery towards the city, I observed many women mourning over the graves of their friends, and watering aloë-shrubs planted in small square pits made in the tops of the raised sepulchres. There is something touching in flowers thus springing out of the whitened tombs, and blooming over the cold graves. I observed it only at Alexandria and Sidon.

At the northeast angle of the city, just within the walls and on the margin of the sea, are the two beautiful obelisks usually called Cleopatra's Needles, the one standing erect amid the ruins of the ancient city and the offensive mud huts of the modern town, and the other lying half buried in rubbish.



From the position of the two bases, their distance from the water, and the massive layers of masonry and fragments of columns under the water, there seems to be no doubt but that these obelisks were ornaments to the magnificent entrance of a vast palace; and tradition, somewhat strengthened by history, assigns it to Cleopatra. And surely no sight could exceed this, with the magnificent city in the rear and the Mediterranean in front. The Needles are two obelisks of syenite, of equal size, about eight feet square at the base and sixty-five high, covered on all sides with hieroglyphics. The sides towards the desert are much more corroded, and the figures much more worn than those towards the sea, showing that the wind blows much longer and more violently from the south than the north, or that it is more destructive to solid bodies when it comes from the desert than from the sea.

Close in front of the ancient city was the celebrated narrow island of Pharos, stretching parallel with the shore, remarkable for its lighthouse, one of the wonders of the ancient world. In process of time, a mole

was raised from the continent to the island, and being widened by the deposition of rubbish, it became the foundation for a large part of the modern city. The Turkish quarters of the town lie chiefly around this harbour, somewhat in the shape of a horseshoe opening to the west, the side formed by the ancient island being occupied chiefly by public buildings and magazines, and the entire west end of the island next the lighthouse by the palace and harem. The Pacha was absent, and we were permitted to ramble through the halls and apartments of the palace under the guidance of some six or eight barefooted bronze-coloured attendants. Most of the furniture was of European manufacture, probably presented by different sovereigns and persons wishing to obtain favour. I noticed tables of *pietra dura* from Florence; of fine mosaic from Rome; richly gilded clocks from England and Russia; and magnificent mirrors from France. The divans, or low, broad, luxurious sofas, running round three sides of several rooms, may be made in the country. The bed was one of these sofa-mattresses, eighteen inches thick, lying on the floor in the centre of the room, enshrouded and canopied with rich damasks and gold. At both sides of the bed were broad, delicate cushions, on which his highness rests his feet while dressing. It was a luxurious chamber. We proceeded to the banqueting hall, a small room nearly square, with an oval table not more than fifteen feet long. I inferred that the Pacha did not give dinners to numerous companies, as not more than twelve or fourteen covers could be laid with any convenience. In an adjoining room was the common dinner-service—rich gilt china, but not remarkable. The architecture and plan of the palace are European; the waters of the harbour wash its walls, and the heavy

ships-of-war are within a stone's throw of the den of the tyrant.

Upon leaving the garden in front of the palace, an old gray-headed Arab demanded *buksheesh* at the gate, while a jet-black, thick-lipped negro shouldered a musket as a sentinel. They were not there when we entered. The old man not being content with what he received, as one of our company attempted to pass out the negro-sentinel resisted. I then signified to the old Moslem to hand the money back, which he did, in expectation of getting more; whereupon we declared our determination not to give anything till we were out, and directed our valet to say so to the old man; at the same time, stepping forward to the negro, who stood in the gate with his musket, I passed with but little resistance, and the others followed, the fellows exhibiting a kind of acquiescing and disappointed smile. They then got their *buksheesh*, and we rode back to the hotel.

I strolled twice through the bazars. The avenues, or streets, are from three to six feet wide, crooked, unpaved, lower in the middle than at the sides, and covered with canvass, coarse matting, or branches of reeds or palm, according to the wealth of the neighbourhood. The shops are small open sheds or closets, before each of which is a platform about three feet wide, upon which the sellers sit and expose their wares. Each shop is appropriated to the sale of a single commodity. No rubbish or filth is removed from the narrow streets that can possibly remain without blocking up the passage; and, although the people do not sleep here, as the quarter is closed by gates and guarded at night, yet the wonder is, not that the plague appears, but that it does not always rage.

The Frank Quarter is in the southeast part of the

city, containing the great square, many good residences of rich Greeks and Franks, a monastery or two, several churches, baths, gardens, and groves of fine palms. Yet even in many parts of this quarter the heaps of ancient ruins and modern rubbish offend the Western European. The shops in the Frank streets are good, and the English and French languages are spoken, at least a little, by many natives. The English language is most prevalent. Almost every *valet de place* and Arab courier speaks a little English, learned in the service of some of the many travellers of that nation who frequent the East.

I had now seen the city as it is, and wandered over the ruins of what it had been. Here was the glory of Alexander, the capital of Cleopatra, the grave of Pompey; here Antony lost the world by the intrigues and fascinations of a woman, and Augustus, if the scandal of History be true, wellnigh fell into the same snare; but he triumphed over himself, and won dominion. Here, too, science and literature flourished under the patronage of munificent princes. Here, too, was the emporium of the commerce of the East ere the Christian bark had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and sealed the fate of Alexandria. In this city rose the first great Christian school of theology, illustrated by the genius, but more by the piety, of Origen, who had the splendid misfortune to introduce the Platonic philosophy into Christianity, and thus perplex the Christian world for a thousand years. And from hence went forth subtle, intolerant religious controversy, sprung from a single expression of Arius, raising a question which general councils have in vain endeavoured to determine and settle, and which yet continues to vex the Church.

CHAPTER III.

ALEXANDRIA TO CAIRO.

Departure from Alexandria.—Camel-drivers.—The Canal.—Atfeh.—Mehemet Ali's Mode of digging Canals.—The Nile.—Appearance of the Country.—Mud Villages on the Nile.—Washerwomen.—Departure from Atfeh.—Getting the wrong Boat.—An uncertain Wind.—Primitive Agriculture.—Boats on the River.—A suspicious Village.—Walks on the Shore.—The Murrain of Cattle.—First Sight of the Pyramids.—Boulak.—Arrival at Cairo.

AT 4 o'clock P. M. our luggage, provisions, and cooking apparatus were collected in the court of the hotel, and a crowd of ragged, vociferous Arabs, with their donkeys and camels, pressed into the great door, and could scarcely be restrained from taking us and our luggage by force. At length they became so violent as to require the interference of the janizary whom the American consul, Mr. Tod, had been so prudent as to send to the hotel without our knowledge, understanding, as I suppose, the difficulty of so many travellers departing at once. Then, for the first time, I saw the force necessary to govern these animals in human shape. The janizary had not only to push them rudely back to prevent them seizing our property and placing it on their camels, but he had to strike them in the face violently; and at length, with his staff of office, to strike them over their heads and shoulders until it seemed to me he would absolutely maim them.

At length two camels received our luggage and provisions, four donkeys ourselves, a fifth Abdallah, our Arab servant, engaged to assist our Greek, and a sixth our Nubian cicerone; and with a runner behind each, servant, cicerone, and all, we set off for the canal, a

mile and a half south of the city, on the shore of the Lake Mareotis. The janizary and courier went to the Custom-house, paid 22 piastres (\$1 00) for I know not what, and joined us at our boats. As the sun was setting, we run up our stars and stripes amid the discharge of pistols and the bravo of an old Arab that stood by, loosed our sails, and moved briskly up the wide canal towards Atfeh. The lake was on our right, but not adorned with gardens, vineyards, and villas, as in the days of the Greeks and the Romans: on the left, groves of palms and oranges bordered the canal, imbosoming white country houses of moderate dimensions. A blush of reddish light suffused the western sky, upon which, Pompey's Pillar, for nearly an hour, looked like a dark, well-defined perpendicular line resting on the Desert. The trees and country houses disappeared with the light, and at the same time, a little distance from the canal, a Frank carriage was seen driving rapidly towards the city, preceded by a half naked Arab bounding before it with a flaming torch. We wrapped ourselves up in our new and thickly-wadded quilts, purchased at Alexandria, lay down on some boards in the little cabin, slept soundly, and awoke in the morning at Atfeh. There had been a stiff favourable breeze, and we had run a little more than 60 miles in about eight hours.

The canal through which we sailed is called the Mahmoudie Canal, in honour of the late sultan. Part of it is an ancient work, but it had been choked up for centuries. Mehemet Ali, the present sovereign of Egypt, determined to make Alexandria the commercial capital of his dominions, and of course found it necessary to reopen the canal, in order to transport the products of the country from the Nile to the city. He made a compulsory levy upon the villages in upper and lower Egypt,

and driving the men by thousands, like oxen, to the work, accomplished it in six weeks. Two hundred thousand were employed on it without pay; and their fatigue and exposure in the low, swampy grounds, without shelter, subsisted as they were upon the coarsest food, cut off, some say 20,000, and others as high as 50,000 men. There is not a single lock on the work: it is simply a mud ditch about fifteen feet deep, and always fifty feet wide. The extremity near to Alexandria terminates in the Lake Mareotis, and the other in the Nile at Atfeh, where all produce, merchandise, and passengers are transhipped. When the flood is in the river, the gates are drawn up, and the canal filled; when the water begins to subside, the gates are shut down, and the canal remains full, but without any current. The only loss of water is by leakage and evaporation. The country, as it approaches the Nile, rises gradually, and in order to keep the head of the canal at a low level, so as to be well filled from the river, the cutting is deep, and the mud thrown out lies in irregular piles and ridges like the clay and sand along the deep cuts of our railroads. Part of the village of Atfeh is built on these mud-heaps, chiefly on the right or southern bank of the canal, but the larger and better part lies along the Nile above the canal. The population may be 3000, yet there are no substantial houses in the town: few are two stories high, the much greater number being mud-hovels, without any arrangement of streets, but situated as if by chance, adjoining each other at side or corner, or two, three, four, or five feet apart, as the case may be. There are some French shops on the river, badly supplied with coarse articles at an extravagant price. The native bazar is in the interior of the village, covered over with matting, palm branches, and reeds in a de-

cayed condition. The recent rain had reduced the dust to a thin, elastic mud, through which it was almost impossible to pass. Yet here were coffee-shops, and cooking operations going on, amid selling, eating, and smoking, all in such close proximity to the mud, that the ambling of a donkey amid the crowd sufficed to season the repast with what a European would not like to taste.

From the elevated position of Atfeh I had the first fair view of Egypt and its mighty river. The last may well be compared with the Rhine near Cologne, or above Mayence, for width and force. Along its mud levee lay a hundred small river-craft, discharging or receiving their loads, or waiting for employment. Groups of graceful palm-trees appeared here and there in the distance, marking the positions of villages, yet the general aspect of the country was silent and desolate. Such we found it as we ascended to Cairo.

The villages usually stand some distance from the river, and are built on artificial elevations apparently formed of rubbish from former towns many times decayed and rebuilt on the same sites through the lapse of centuries. The village huts are scarcely ever more than one low story. The roofs, which are generally covered with mud or reeds, are flat, except when crowned with a somewhat lofty cone or pyramid, built of wide-mouthed earthen jars laid on their sides, their red bottoms appearing outward through the mud in which they are imbedded, and their open mouths turned inward for pigeons' nests. You may often see the jackal-like Egyptian dogs basking in the sun on these flat roofs, to which they can readily leap from the adjacent bank of filth and rubbish, which is ever growing, and will afford the basis of another hut when the existing one shall have crum-

bled away and become itself a rubbish-mound. This, too, will have its turn, and so the process goes on perpetually. Such is actually the history of these mud-built, rickety villages. The huts have low and narrow doors, and no other opening except, occasionally, a small one near the roof, for the admission of air. A mud wall is sometimes erected around the door of the better sort of dwellings, making a small enclosure, in which may be seen a donkey, a cat, a sheep, and some chickens, an amount of livestock, however, which indicates that the possessor is well to do in the world. There is generally a level open space somewhere within the village or on its border, which seems to be the property of the boys; you may frequently see urchins of five to ten years old playing on this space stark naked. A few palm-trees generally rise amid or around the hamlet, marking its site long before you can see the humble dwellings themselves; but they afford no shade. In each principal village is a rude mosque, with minaret and dome, in a decayed condition, and which serves not only as a place of worship, but also as the mausoleum of some favourite chief or prophet.

As the villages commonly lie but a little distance from the river side, you may see the women coming to or returning from the river, with earthen water-jars on their shoulders, as in the times of the patriarchs. Occasionally one may be seen washing a single garment of blue cotton, herself barely covered by a loose unsightly robe of the same material, open in front and exposing the bosom, while the face is covered to the eyes with a coarse shawl or piece of cotton cloth. They are invariably coarse and dark-skinned.

Early on the morning of January 8th we secured a boat with a cabin of some size, divided into two apart-

ments, and, on the whole, tolerably snug. We thought ourselves in luck, hoisted our flag, and prepared to set sail. But we soon found that our boat was not ours, but the Pacha's. Our flag was hauled down by the order of one of his soldiers, who declared that he had use for the craft in his excellency's service. We had nothing for it but to submit; and as we soon found that another and cleaner boat lay just at hand, and could be had for a less price, we yielded with a good grace, and prepared to embark in the other boat, in which we soon bestowed our four selves, our two servants, crates of goods and chattels, and a crew of nine men. There was a brisk wind; we let go our forward latteen sail, and dashed away in great spirits. The waves fairly foamed under our bows as the boat dashed forward, and we expected to make the speediest of passages. Alas! how uncertain are human expectations, especially when dependent on the winds of the Nile. The river curved a little the wrong way; the wind, too, chopped round a little the wrong way, and lo! we stood still. Seven of the crew went ashore to keep the boat to windward by a long tow-rope; the rope snapped suddenly asunder, and away we went across the river, and grounded on the opposite shore. The water broke over us to such an extent that we had to land, bag and baggage. Here was a pretty piece of work for our first day's voyage on the ancient river. But it could not be mended; so we took it as philosophically as possible, and managed, or pretended, to be content, as we prepared and ate a better dinner on shore than we could have secured on board. Towards evening we set sail again, but soon came to for the night, at no great distance from our starting-point in the morning.

Next day we had but little wind, and that not favourable. Our men towed the boat slowly against the sluggish stream, and we embraced the opportunity thus afforded us of walking along the shore-dikes, and rambling among the hamlets and fields. Women were continually passing to the bank with their jars for water, always the same unsightly beings, with the constant blue cotton shirt; boys and girls, occasionally naked, were playing in the water, or helping to make mud-bricks on the bank. These bricks, made with a little straw or chaff, are dried in the sun, and form the more solid parts of the huts, which are plastered over with mud. Now and then we saw young men at work naked, and that, too, where women were passing, without any apparent sense of impropriety. The mud-dikes are rudely thrown up, and are distant from fifty to two hundred yards from the shore, enclosing large spaces, which are cultivated in grain or grass. The plough, which is too rude to be described, is commonly drawn by a camel and an ugly buffalo, yoked by a pole about nine feet long, the ends of which lie on their necks: one man guides the wooden stick which seems to scratch the ground, while another drives and guides the team. If the ground be too wet to plough, the seed is hoed in. All the preparation necessary for sowing is, that the former crop be gathered and water be at command. The season is always propitious. In some parts of the valley of the Nile, the grounds are not watered artificially, but only by the annual rise of the river; and in this case but one crop is gathered. In other parts deep pools are dug, which are filled by the overflow of the river, and from them the grounds are irrigated by means of the wheel and buckets, or by rude pole-levers like the well-sweeps still in use in some parts of the United States. Here they may have three

crops a year; one some time in November, after the waters subside, one in the spring, and a third about the summer solstice, the two last being produced by artificial irrigation. Indeed, with skilful cultivation, a crop of some kind of grain might be gathered every month. We saw flocks of sheep and cattle, with donkeys and camels, grazing under the care of keepers. There were vast numbers of crows flying about, of a small size, with dun-coloured bodies, and black necks and wings, and very noisy they were. I was struck with the unsuspecting friendship of the smaller species of birds, many of which frequented our boat, and hopped about on the deck amid the sailors.

I was disappointed in the general appearance of the Valley of the Nile; it was not so fertile or beautiful as I had expected. Perhaps at another season of the year it may look better. But many centuries of wretchedness have so degraded the population, and their numbers have been so much thinned by the requisitions of the present Pacha for the supply of his army and navy, that there are scarcely men enough left even to till the grounds that are irrigated by the annual rise of the river. Artificial irrigation is but little employed except for gardens. It is very laborious work when performed by men.

We saw some water-wheels intended to be propelled by horse-power, but they had fallen into decay even near Alexandria; nor did we see one in use during our ascent of the river: all had broken away and fallen down into the deep pools over which they had been erected. The cisterns were all in a decayed condition, and the canals, by which they had been fed, were choked up. In consequence of this general decline of agriculture, the desert is encroaching upon the river, and much land,

which was productive at the commencement of the reign of Mehemet Ali, has become infertile.

The river was about half full, yet even at this height we frequently ran aground. When an accident of this sort occurred, our lean, sinewy Arabs leaped overboard, and tugged away until they got the boat off. We saw many boats, some carrying freights of cotton, some of sugar, &c., and some of wheat, which last lay loose in the boat, and formed the floor and bed of the crew. We passed a few passenger-boats, one under the English and American flags, with which we exchanged salutes — not, indeed, with cannon, or even with bells, as our river steamers do, but by doffing hats and a huzza. The flag of the Pacha, the crescent and star, floated over every valuable cargo.

On the third evening the wind failed us entirely, and our boat, together with several others, came to before a little hamlet that lay on the brink of the river. We scolded hard, but it did no good; there we must lie, we feared, all night. Hearing the sound of rude music at a little distance, we went to the spot, and found some twenty or thirty Arabs singing to the accompaniment of a rude flute, or, rather, double reed. The song was carried by a sort of coryphæus, and the rest joined only in the chorus. The time was kept by all the company clapping hands. A tall, raw-boned man, in the midst, flourished a long staff, and made some ugly, wriggling motions that were intended for dancing. In a short time an Arab girl came in, threw off her shawl, of which our Arab servant took possession, entered the ring, and commenced dancing, much in the manner of the man, but with more animation. It was a very singular movement, the aim appearing to be to keep the chest and feet still, and to move the rest of the body in every

possible direction. She wore a tight jacket and loose skirt, and one corner of the dark handkerchief which enveloped her head hung down her back, with six heavy silver whistles suspended from it. A crescent of gold in her nose, bracelets and rings on her wrists and fingers, and some coins suspended from her forehead, completed her ornaments. The little hamlet was not one of the common villages of the Nile where women cover their faces.

I entered several of the huts, and found them all without furniture. Loose straw was thrown over the mud floors. The inmates seemed hospitable enough, and gave me to know by signs that I might make myself at home; but being satisfied of the character of the village from what we had seen, we deemed it safest not to cultivate any farther acquaintance with the inhabitants: so our crew was ordered on board, and before the lights were put out we moved up the river a short distance, in order to be out of harm's way. But George reported us *minus* several little articles next morning.

Either exposure on the passage from Syra to Alexandria, or over-exertion in the latter city, or the change of climate and water, produced symptoms of dysentery for a day or two. I avoided the water, drank some brandy punch, kept quiet, and was quickly able to go ashore and take a delightful morning's walk, while our boat was working up the stream. The air was mild and genial as May in the Middle States; the herdsmen were bathing, or, rather, like crocodiles, floundering about in the ponds of water left in low places, or in ancient canals or cisterns, and warmed by the sun; or were mending their loose garments as they sat naked on the grass, casting a glance now and then at their herds grazing near by.

We had heard of a dreadful mortality prevailing among the cattle in Egypt, and had ocular proof of it on our way up the river. It was said that more than 150,000 had died; and the Pacha interdicted the killing or selling of any for four years, as cultivation is carried on chiefly by means of oxen. The murrain continued; the bodies were dragged down to the river, the skins taken off, and the carcasses thrown into the water. Of course, we had no beef in Egypt just then; but I was surprised to find excellent mutton in this level, warm country. Poultry and eggs were abundant and cheap, but both very small and not very good. Bread is excellent in Alexandria, where we obtained a supply: the milk is too strong, but as our supply gave out, George, our Greek, beat up the yolk of eggs with a little warm water, and made most excellent cream. It is a good substitute.

Near noon on the day before we reached Cairo, we were walking on one of the raised dikes which intersect the cultivated fields, retain the water, and serve as roads communicating with the principal villages, when we descried in the distance the clear, sharp summits of two of the Pyramids. The sentiment which I felt was profound and indescribable: the greatness of Memphis, the sanctity and science of Heliopolis, the glorious captivity of Joseph, the grievous bondage of Israel, the terrible triumph of Moses and Aaron, and the miraculous Exodus of the Jews, flashed through my mind as I gazed upon those eternal monuments which have witnessed them all. Next morning, about 10 o'clock, the fog cleared up from the river, and the town of Boulak, the port of Cairo, appeared near at hand on the eastern bank, and the slender minarets and swelling domes of the capital were seen, two miles distant, in the back-

ground. There was some activity in boat-building along the shore ; and two or three small steamers sailed up to the levee in company with us. We took our station among the hundreds of little river craft drawn up along the steep mud levee, covered with rubbish and filth up to the very walls of the dingy houses, built of sun-dried-mud brick. Everywhere were seen groups of donkeys saddled, or camels bearing towering loads, or lying down receiving their burdens ; men, women, and boys, of all colours and costumes, and uttering all languages : some basking in the sun, some smoking long pipes or drinking black coffee, some looking on with indifference, and others leisurely transacting business. None seemed to be in earnest except the donkey-drivers and camel-men, who wanted us and our luggage. George went ashore to engage camels and donkeys to carry us to the city, while we remained on board to guard our boat from the filthy Arabs.

Boulak is about a mile and a half from the capital. The road, which is raised, and bordered with trees, passes through cultivated grounds adorned with groves of palms and oranges, interspersed with cactus. The thoroughfare was thronged with donkeys carrying water to the city, and returning with the empty goatskins. Entering the Frank Quarter, we soon reached the French hotel de l'Orient, and found comfortable rooms at our disposal.

CHAPTER IV.

CAIRO.

A Fête.—Strange Festivities.—Mr. Gliddon.—Walk through the City.—The Quarters.—Streets and Houses.—Courts.—Costumes.—Dresses of Ladies.—Of Women of the Lower Orders.—Appearance of the People.—Ophthalmia.—The Citadel.—Palace.—The Mint.—Joseph's Well.—Massacre of the Mamelukes.—Mosque of the Hasaneyn.—Cemeteries.—The Pacha's Tomb.—The Mission-house.

BEING informed, after dinner, that it was a fête day, and that half the city were collected outside the eastern gate, near the tombs of the Mamelukes, indulging in feast and frolic, we determined to go out at once and behold the festivity. Donkeys were at hand, and we were soon at the spot. Pushing through the crowd as though we had been on foot, the noses of our stubborn steeds acting as wedges to open the way for us, we had the better opportunity of seeing, from our elevation above the crowd. One disadvantage was connected with it, however—we were an excellent mark for beggars, and they gathered about us in troops. Buffoons, mountebanks, jugglers, and swingers were performing all kinds of fantastic tricks; and the multitude were gathered in groups around the various performers. There were many dancers (men) in loose trousers, with full skirts hanging freely over them, and the whole body covered with a thin gauze. Water, fruits, and a thousand compositions of food, apparently unfit to be eaten, were offered for sale everywhere. The crowds were not noisy; there seemed to be little glee in their enjoyment. One of the most attractive performers was a dark Arab, of Herculean frame, who exhibited many feats of strength. We saw him take up a full-grown

man on each arm, and whirl them round and round as though they were children. Take the whole affair together, it was one of the most extraordinary scenes I ever beheld. A countless multitude in high festivity, not in a grove or garden, or even a fair green field, but in the midst of a desert, made still more desolate by the vast necropolis that surrounded it—hills of rubbish, the mouldered ruins of a former city, made hideous by the bleached bones and half-consumed carcasses of donkeys and camels, from which the dogs and carrion-birds were hardly frightened by the music and dancing; and all this immediately under the walls of a great city!

On our way home, we called on our consul, Mr. Gliddon, but did not find him. A few hours after, his son called, with an invitation to breakfast next morning. I take pleasure in recording Mr. G.'s constant attention to us during our stay in Cairo.* He showed us the kindness, usual to strangers, of placing a janizary at our command to accompany us in our rambles. After breakfast we set off for a tour over the city, desiring, in the first place, to get a general idea of the town.

After the usual struggle among the donkey-drivers, we secured good beasts, and made quite a cavalcade, with our pompous janizary leading the way. He was evidently a man of much importance, in his own eyes at least, and quite a dandy, wearing a red cap with heavy tassel, a close blue jacket thickly braided, full pantaloons, and tight gaiters of the same material, and a long sword dangling at his left side. He carried a long, silver-headed mace in his right hand, which he turned to more uses than one. The crowds of pedestrians seemed to be in dread of it.

We passed through the most crowded thoroughfares

* I regret to learn that Mr. G. is since deceased.

towards the citadel. They varied in width from ten to twenty-five feet, the same street being of different widths at different points. At intervals of a few hundred yards we noticed large, heavy doors standing open on the right and left, through which donkeys, camels, and men were passing. These are the openings into the *Quarters*; they are closed at night, and kept by a porter. The *Quarters* have no communication with any part of the city except by the gateway from the main street, yet they contain within themselves many labyrinthic lanes, from three to six feet wide, communicating with each other.

It would take a stranger months to comprehend the plan of Cairo so as to find his way readily through every part of it. The great thoroughfares intersect each other in all directions, and form many angles and curves in their course. The better sort of houses are large, and some of them have been fine buildings; but the air of decay and dilapidation is universal. The basement stories of these houses are generally faced with a light yellow limestone, from the mountain east of the city. Sometimes the alternate layers of stone are painted in a dull red; the walls, thus horizontally striped, present a singular appearance. As there are no windows in the lower stories, the streets appear to be passages between dead walls. At the height of twelve or fourteen feet are small openings with wooden grates. The upper stories have latticed windows projecting into the street; and, in narrow streets, opposite windows often nearly touch, so that the light is almost excluded. At first this adds to the gloom of these narrow ways, but one very soon learns that the comfort of the dwellers is much increased by every contrivance to keep out the sun. In the houses of the rich, these projecting windows are supported by stone or wooden corbels jutting

from the walls; but commonly they rest on slender braces. They are quite irregular in size and form. Being entirely unglazed, and covered with a close lattice-work of wood, they exclude the light, but admit all the air that is stirring day and night. They seem not to be used for *observatories*, like windows in Europe; I never saw a single face in one of them.

The roofs are all flat. The large houses commonly have a contrivance placed over an opening in the roof for catching the wind: it is called a *moolguf*, and consists of a semi-tent of boards or canvass, the side towards the north being open—very much such an affair, indeed, as the open-mouthed canvass ventilators used on board our ships and steamboats to conduct the air down into the cabins in hot weather.

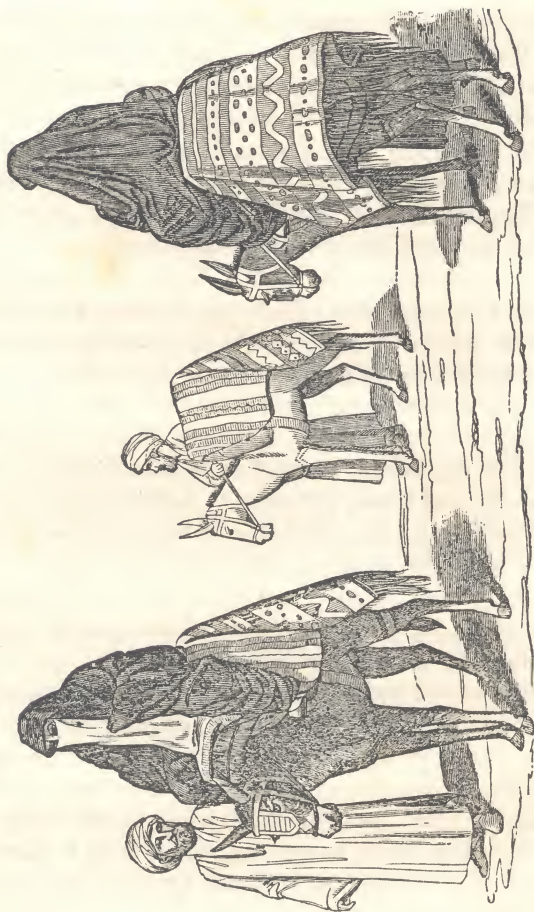
The doors opening upon the streets are cumbrous and unsightly. They generally bear the inscription, *God is the Creator*, in Arabic, written in large black or white letters upon the centre panel. On entering a house of any pretension, you pass through the front door into a passage, which turns once or twice at right angles, to prevent you from seeing into the court. Having read of porter's lodges, beautiful marble courts, and crystal fountains, as forming part of these Caireen houses, I was somewhat disappointed in those which I had an opportunity of seeing. To be sure, there was a lodge and a porter; but the lodge was nothing more than a mud-plastered platform, some three feet high, resting against the wall of the passage just within the door, and covered with some old matting, on which sat a dirty Arab crosslegged. There was a court, but it was little else than a receptacle for rubbish and lumber; and as for the fountain, the best that I saw was a stone trough filled with brackish water. I found it hard

to get up my old imaginations of Arabian magnificence after these specimens. But it is said that there are fine houses in Cairo, in which one's highest conceptions might be realized. I had not the good fortune to see them.

Nothing strikes the traveller in any strange land so obviously as differences in costume; and, for the Frank traveller, the Arabian and Turkish costumes, seen for the first time, are full of novelty and interest. In point of grace and dignity, the Oriental dress is far superior to that of Europe; and I must say, that after I had been for some months accustomed to the flowing robes of Egypt and Syria, the tight, angular costume of any stray European traveller appeared awkward and ungainly. I shall give a few brief notices of the dress of men and women of the various classes, as seen in the streets of Alexandria and Cairo, by means of which, and still more of the following cuts, which I have borrowed from Mr. Lane's excellent book on "The Modern Egyptians," the reader may obtain a tolerable idea of the figures that crossed our path and attracted our eyes in every walk through the cities of Egypt.

Ladies of the higher classes are seldom seen on foot. You will generally see them riding on donkeys, four or five in a row, on their way to the bath or the mosque. The face is closely covered by a muslin veil, which, leaving the eyes alone visible, extends down nearly to the feet. The whole person is covered with a shroud, or cloak of black silk, very full, and by no means graceful. Socks of yellow morocco are worn next the feet, and over them slippers of large size turned up at the toes.

In riding, they sit *en cavalier*, upon a high saddle, which is covered by a rich carpet. The feet are drawn up high on the shoulders of the donkey. One would



think their position very uncomfortable ; but it is said, on the contrary, to be easy. In walking, the same dress is worn, as seen in the opposite cut. The gait of the women is ungraceful and shuffling—made so, probably, by the use of the loose slippers over the boot.



The dress of women of the lower orders is simpler. Some wear a loose shirt of blue cotton or linen, open in front down to the waist, and a veil of black crape or coarse silk. The head is covered either by an additional piece of cotton, or by the large sleeves of the shirt being thrown up over it. Some wear, in addition, drawers of cotton or linen, but these are not universal. The wood-

cut below illustrates these costumes exactly, and also the mode of carrying water upon the head, and children upon the shoulder. I could not at first repress my uneasiness lest the little urchins whom I saw thus perched astride of tall women's shoulders should fall from



their berth ; but I soon found that they could not only ride safely, but absolutely sleep on their perch without danger.

The out-door costume, then, of the Arabian women is anything but elegant. The men, on the other hand, even of the lower orders, have an ease and grace of



dress which is remarkable. A turban of white, yellow, or red cloth ; a full gown of blue cotton, or of woollen, generally brown, sometimes striped, cinctured by a red woollen girdle, and full trousers, make up their picturesque apparel. The very poorest class are frequently without drawers or turban, wearing simply a white or brown felt cap on the head, and covered merely by a coarse loose blue gown.

The men of Cairo are generally a fine-looking race, well formed, erect, and robust. What the women are it is hard to tell, under their enormous black silk shrouds. The eyes appear universally fine, large, and piercing, but perhaps much of this appearance is owing to the fact that no other feature is visible. One's imagination is apt to picture the faces to which these fine eyes belong as angelic ; but doubtless there are many of them homely enough. The children are a miserable, sickly-looking race. Our sympathies were constantly excited, in passing along the streets, by their pale, wo-begone faces, matted hair, shrunken arms, and distended bodies. It is strange that such miserable beings should ever grow up to the robust proportions of the men of Egypt.

Many blind persons are to be met in the streets. Ophthalmia is a common disease in Egypt, and is ascribed partly to the fine dust of the desert, which constantly pervades the air in the dry season, and partly to the bad food and filthy habits of the people. Russegger ascribes the disease, with more probability, to the saline particles deposited by the mud of the Nile, with which the air is impregnated constantly after the subsidence of the inundation. But there are many young men, in full health, to be seen, blind of one eye—not from ophthalmia, but a more painful cause. To avoid the con-

scriptions of Mehemet Ali, the women have been in the habit, for many years back, of maiming their children in some way, so as to unfit them for military service. The destroying of one of the eyes was an effectual operation ; and it was, and still is, done in many cases by the parents themselves. But the Pacha has taken an effectual way to put an end to this cruelty, by forming two regiments of one-eyed soldiers ; and the evil is said to be already very much diminished.

After these cursory remarks upon the general appearance of Cairo and its inhabitants, I proceed with the account of our rambles through the city. We ascended to the citadel, which is built on a projection of Mount Mokattam, that advances from the Syrian desert and overhangs the town. The general name of citadel is given to the entire collection of buildings occupying this elevated point and commanding the city. Ascending by a wide, easy way, cut in the soft rock of the hill-side, we came first upon that part of the citadel which is properly so called—the ancient fortress. Here are many buildings of vast dimensions, and once of great strength ; but their walls are now rent and shattered in many places. Within the same enclosure are the Mint, the barracks, the palace of the viceroy, and a splendid mosque, which has been in process of erection under his orders for the last fifteen years. This was the first point of attraction for us. It must be at least 250 by 400 feet, stands on the very verge of the hill, and overlooks the city, the Lybian desert, a vast reach of the river, and a large portion of the Delta. The walls of the quadrangle are four feet thick, built of the yellow limestone of the mountain : they had reached the height of forty feet at the time of our visit. The interior is divided into two parts, of which the eastern,

occupying a third of the quadrangle, is faced throughout with alabaster, and surrounded with columns of the same material. This portion, I believe, is to be covered with an arched ceiling or dome. The western section is to form an open court, surrounded, like the other, with colonnades of alabaster. I was surprised to see such a profusion of alabaster, though it is not of a very fine quality; and I learned that it was obtained at four days' distance above the city, and twelve hours inland from the east side of the Nile. If this mosque be finished according to its present plan, it will certainly be a very splendid building, though irregular in its architecture.

At no great distance from the mosque stands the palace. It is partly old, and partly built by Mehemet himself. As we approached the door under the portico, we were informed that the great man was asleep: so, not to disturb his slumbers, we turned our steps towards the Mint. Of course, there was nothing novel here. The Arab workmen brought in a wooden bowl containing a quart of gold pieces, of 100 piastres each, ready for the die, and stamped several of them for our edification and *buksheesh*.

Joseph's Well is also one of the lions of the citadel. The celebrated Jewish minister of Pharaoh never saw it; but, although its name is false, it is curious enough in itself to be worth a visit. It is a square shaft about 12 by 16 feet, 270 deep, sunk in the soft rock to the level of the Nile, by which it is supplied with water, which becomes brackish in passing through the earth impregnated with salt. An inclined plane, about four feet wide, descends around the shaft to the depth of 150 feet, and is separated from it by a portion of the rock, which forms a low parapet wall. This inclined plane serves as stairs, at the foot of which, in a recess of the rock, is

placed a rude wheel, which is worked by an ox, and throws up the water in earthen jars into a cistern on a level with it. Another wheel at the top draws it from the cistern to the summit, whence it is distributed through the citadel. Two little boys and a girl of fourteen, with the corner of her garment drawn over her face, accompanied us down with wax tapers, and showed a little recess near the wheel, which they affirmed was the grave of two of Joseph's servants, who had been killed there. Any one may see that the well has been sunk since the citadel was built, to supply the garrison in case of a siege, when the water conveyed by the aqueduct from the Nile might be cut off.

The most interesting spot about the citadel is the great square in which the Mamelukes were butchered by order of Mehemet Ali. These brave men had been the greatest obstacle in his way to power, and he determined to destroy them, although they had been so far reduced by the many bloody contests in which they had been engaged, that by 1811, the year of the massacre, but a small body of them were left. He had succeeded, by various arts, in drawing about a thousand of them into Cairo, and lulling all their suspicions. At this time he was about sending an army against the Wahabees, who had seized upon the holy cities of Mecca and Medina; and his favourite son Toussoun, who had received the dignity of pasha of two tails from the Porte, was to lead the enterprise. The first day of March was fixed for his investiture. A magnificent festival was ordered for that day, to which the Mamelukes were invited. They appeared in their splendid uniforms, and were received by the pasha with great affability. After the audience was over, they retired on their chargers, in full array, by the hollow way that leads to the city. Before they

reached the gate an order was given to close it. The Albanians were posted behind the towers and ramparts of the citadel, and Mehemet himself was seated on a carpet, smoking his long pipe, in a position whence he could see every movement without being seen. The word was given, a tremendous fire was opened on the unfortunate Mamelukes, hemmed in effectually in the court, and notwithstanding the utmost efforts of their frantic rage, they were all cut off with the exception of Amim Bey, whose escape was almost miraculous. He had been detained in the city, and took his post below the gate, in order to take his place in the procession as it passed. Perceiving the gate closed, he at once suspected treachery, and riding up to the rampart, spurred his charger over the wall, and leaped down a height of forty feet. The horse was killed, but he escaped unhurt, and succeeded in making his way into Syria. The Mamelukes who were scattered through the towns and villages of Egypt were soon afterward exterminated by the Pacha; and thus did this stern, treacherous man remove the last embarrassment from his path to supreme power in Egypt.

The Mosque of the *Hasaneyn* is the finest and most sacred in Cairo. It stands directly below the citadel, and opens on a large space used as a market. Its swelling dome and lofty minaret make it the most prominent object in the city. Its walls are built of the common stone, and the alternate courses, as usual, are coloured red. We passed by a side door through a narrow passage, making two angles, into the great court. Here our progress was arrested; but, after a parley, our janizary obtained permission for us to walk along two sides of the court, on condition that we would keep close to the wall.

The court, or hall, was a noble one, with marble pavement, in the centre of which was a fine canopied fountain for ablution before worship. It was open to the heavens except the eastern portion, which has an arched ceiling, and this section is devoted more especially to worship. Its floor is raised about eighteen inches above the level of the pavement, and covered with matting. In the midst of this floor stands an open altar, or stage, perhaps ten feet high, under and upon which, as we were told, special prayer is made. Affixed to the wall is a high, rude pulpit, from which the Koran is read to the assembled Moslems. Passing through a bronze door near this pulpit, we found ourselves in the sacred chamber which contains the martyr's tomb. It is a lofty hall, surmounted by a dome, beautiful in its proportions. The whole air of the place is solemn and imposing. The tomb is of an oblong form, raised two or three feet above the floor; but we could tell nothing else about it, as it was covered with a carpet. At the head lay a large folio copy of the Koran, and at the foot a large black trunk, said to contain the books of El-Hoseyn: the whole was enclosed by an unpainted wooden paling bearing marks of neglect. As I passed out of the mosque I observed small chains hanging down from the lofty side arches, but nothing was suspended from them.*

Our next excursion was to the tombs which lie just without the city, on the northeast and southeast, amid the sands of the desert. Their profound and unadorned solitude is a thousand times more impressive than

* I shall not trouble the reader with our visit to the second mosque, as we found it nothing but a vast open court some four hundred feet square, with corridors of double rows of pillars all round a canopied fountain in the centre; but the whole structure is in a ruinous condition, as most of the mosques and much of the city seem to be.

the gay decorations of Mount Auburn or Père La Chaise. I had seen them from the citadel, and at first supposed them to be villages, as many of them were square buildings, surmounted by low domes covered with a brown or white plaster. In their midst, particularly in the northern cemetery, were buildings of great magnitude and elevation, fine specimens of Saracenic architecture, and several of them crowned with lofty domes, and adorned with minarets. There were the mausolea of the mighty dead, around which the murdered Mamelukes lay: others were alms-houses. Roads intersect this vast necropolis; and the closely-veiled mourner, as she goes out to weep and lay a palm branch on the tomb of her departed friend, encounters long trains of loaded camels wending their way into the city.

On the south the tombs extend up the valley, and, at a distance, seem to be the expansion of the city into a white and more agreeable suburb. The undistinguished individual lies under a semi-cylinder of brick-work, turned on a rough platform raised a foot or so above the ground. The whole is plastered and whitewashed, and at each end is a rudely-cut stone, crowned with a sculptured turban, and having a short sentence from the Koran. Here were no flowers springing out of little wells sunk in the tombs, as at Alexandria. The more respectable repose within square enclosures of hewn stone, in some cases covered with domes fancifully ornamented with a variety of figures; or else under light, airy canopies, each resting on four slender marble columns, with a frail fretted frieze relieving its base. Here also is the mausoleum of the present Pacha. It is severely plain outside, and irregular in its form; within, it presents a succession of small flat domes resting on arches, and under them lie, in raised and gaudy

sarcophagi, occasionally decorated with rich shawls and silks, the members of his family, and some of his principal friends. Some lamps are suspended from the ceilings; little reed seats are occasionally seen at the ends of the tombs; raised divans run around the walls, and every part of the floor is covered with carpets, once rich, but now a good deal faded by the lapse of time. Near the tomb of his favourite wife is a wide and good space, which the Pacha has reserved for himself; and it is said his advance to this, his last resting-place, is much accelerated of late years.

The northern cemetery is the most ancient, and was the most magnificent, but it is now in a dilapidated condition. This is true of the southern also, to a great extent. Neither is surrounded by a wall, but each is scattered over the desert; that on the south, among the tombs of the ancient Persian Babylon; the other on the north, in the midst of the vast ruins of a long-forgotten city.

On Sunday morning I attended English service at eleven o'clock at the mission-house, and heard a sermon from Mr. Leider, the missionary of the Church of England. This excellent man has been in Egypt some sixteen or seventeen years. There is a notice of his labours on a subsequent page.

CHAPTER V.

Heliopolis.—Obelisk.—Ravages of Time.—A Patriarch.—Shoubra.—The Pacha's Villa.

THE next day we made an excursion to the ancient Heliopolis, the *On* of the Old Testament (Gen., xli., 45). It lies about two hours ride northeast of the city, upon the edge of the Syrian desert, which has encroached upon the ancient site. The adjacent village of Matariah contains fragments of marble and granite which once adorned the "City of the Sun." It dates back nineteen hundred years before Christ. The selection of the site is said to have been made on account of a fountain of delicious water, which still flows sweet and pure, as it did twenty centuries ago, while the great city has vanished. In a garden adjacent to the village is shown an old, gnarled sycamore-tree, under which, if we can believe the legend, Joseph and Mary, with the infant Saviour, rested after their flight into Egypt. Our janizary prepared himself, by ablution in the fountain hard by, for performing his devotions at the noon hour of prayer, which he did with apparent solemnity, kneeling humbly upon his girdle, which served him for a carpet.

The only substantial monument of the glory of Heliopolis that remains is a lone obelisk of red granite, that shoots up some sixty feet from the midst of a cultivated garden. An area about it, some three quarters of a mile long by half a mile broad, is enclosed by a belt of ruins from ten to twenty feet high, the remains of a wall which surrounded the sacred enclosure of the Temple of the Sun. Here, according to tradition,

Moses learned the wisdom of the Egyptians. Here Thales and Pythagoras, Plato and Herodotus, resorted, to draw from the wells of ancient learning, which were full before the brute rock had been struck in Greece. Here dwelt the father-in-law of Joseph, the priest of On. I sat down by a hedge of rosemary, under an orange-tree that bloomed at the foot of this solitary memorial of the old-time city, and could not but muse upon the destructive power of Time. Slowly and stealthily he creeps along, and strikes with sure decay, as he goes, the pride and glory of the earth. The magnificent temple, the college of learned priests, the towering wall, the vast city—where are they all? To think that Joseph looked upon this obelisk in the days of his power, and Moses in the bitterness of his degradation! And there it stands, solitary and quiet, the only sound of life around it being the gentle hum of countless bees, whose hives of mud are built in the cuttings of the hieroglyphics that cover its sides!

I turned from these oppressive thoughts at length to the beautiful world around me. Passing over rich fields of grain, irrigated by means of artificial canals, we took the way to Shoubra. We saw many horses, tethered to stakes, grazing on the wayside, while their keepers had pitched their tents here and there, as in the days of Abraham. Indeed, as I passed near the door of one of these tents, and saw a venerable gray-bearded Arab, in the flowing Eastern costume, sitting within it, while the younger part of the family were amusing themselves before the tent, on the slope of a grassy bank, I could almost believe that the times of the patriarchs were brought back again.

As we approached Shoubra, the groves of fig, lotus, olive, and orange trees became more abundant and lux-

uriant. The ground under them is clean and highly cultivated. The grounds and gardens of Shoubra, the favourite summer residence of the Pacha, are laid out elaborately, but in as stiff and tasteless a style as possible. The formal walks, paved in a kind of mosaic of black and white pebbles, are very tiresome, but the profusion of fruits and flowers exceeds even the imagination that I had formed of Eastern fertility. I could not have believed it if I had not seen it with my own eyes. There are marble fountains and trellised summer-houses, and near the eastern extremity of the garden is a large kiosk, perhaps 200 feet square, built of limestone, plain enough outside, but surrounded within by a gallery supported by marble columns. The walls on which this corridor rests rise several feet above the level of the court, and thus form a vast reservoir, which can be filled at once with water from a large fountain in the centre and many jets from the walls. None of these were playing when we were there.

Fatigued with walking through the grounds, I sat down to rest upon a divan in a fantastic summer-house. My attention was soon drawn to our janizary, who had divested himself of shoes, mace, and sword, and was bowing his forehead to the pavement, with his head towards Mecca. It was the sunset hour of prayer; and the simple Turk, regardless of our presence, worshipped God according to the way of his faith.

We rode from Shoubra to the city along one of the most magnificent avenues, bordered with noble sycamores, that I had ever beheld. For ten hours we had been in the saddle, often going at full speed; yet our drivers ran on foot the whole way, and among them was a little boy not more than ten years old. At the end of our day's excursion they seemed less fatigued than ourselves.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PYRAMIDS.

The Nilometer.—Moses in the Bulrushes.—Officious Guides.—Pyramid of Cheops.—Ascent.—View from the Summit.—A Climbing Arab.—Interior of the Great Pyramid.—Queen's Chamber.—King's Chamber.—General View of the Pyramids.—Relative Positions and Dimensions.—Cheops.—Cephrenes.—Mycerinus.—Smaller Pyramids and Tombs.—Object of the Builders of Pyramids.—Time of their Erection.—The Sphinx.

Six Americans of us started on a fine morning, in company, for a visit to the Pyramids. Besides our own servant Said, Mr. Hart, one of our company, had the immortal Paul—immortal, since Mr. Stephens made him so in his book on the East. Arriving on the bank of the river, we embarked our donkeys in one boat and ourselves in another, and crossed the placid Nile, passing just above the upper end of the island of Rhoda, where stands the Nilometer, a graduated pillar by which the annual rise or fall of the river is ascertained. It is kept closed by order of the Pacha, who, it is said, with the true spirit of a speculating grain-jobber, allows no one to see the meter, that he may give such reports as may suit his own trading schemes. Paul pointed out to us a little nook hard by, where, as he expressed it, *little Moses was found in the bulrushes* by Pharaoh's daughter.

Remounting our donkeys in the mud village of Ghizeh, we emerged from the palms which shade it into a wide, open plain, covered with growing wheat; and, tacking along the narrow ridges thrown up to enclose the water in the fields, we got on pretty rapidly, and in an hour and a quarter reached the base of the great Pyr-

amid of Cheops, distant about three miles from the river. Some years ago, a traveller fell from one of the pyramids and was killed; and the accident gave rise to an order from Mehemet Ali, that no one should make the ascent without two guides. There is no danger of his command being disobeyed: not two, but twenty, assail everybody that visits Cheops. Long before we came to the spot, they had descried us, and numbers of them came bounding towards us. As we approached, their numbers and their importunity increased. Happily, Paul, who has much experience in such matters, had provided little slips of paper to serve as checks, and directed each of us to select his men, give them the tickets, and pay none that could not show the voucher. Some fifty or sixty kept on with us, and among them a number of little girls, who, though carrying small water-jars, skipped along like deer, keeping pace with our donkeys.

On our way from Ghizeh we felt the usual disappointment of travellers in regard to the apparent size of the pyramids; but as we drew near to the natural plateau of limestone rock on which they stand, some hundred and fifty feet above the cultivated plain, they began to make a true impression; but it was not until we reached the base of Cheops itself, and looked up the vast side, which seemed to be almost perpendicular, that the enormous magnitude of the pile was realized. The ascent is easily made. An Arab at each hand assists you to mount from one layer of stone to another; and, unless you kick very hard, and more successfully than I did, a supernumerary fellow will push you from behind, in hope of a few paras for his trouble. We reached the top in about twenty minutes. It is a level area of some thirty feet square, the stones at the apex having been thrown

down, except a few which serve as tablets to preserve the names of travellers ambitious of immortality. Of course, we inscribed ours among the rest.

But what a sight is that from the top of Cheops! The world has nothing like it. To the east is the Arabian desert, boundless and desolate, like a sea; while westward stretched that of Libya, without a green spot, far away to the horizon's verge; in the south appears the valley of the Nile, like a thread of green earth lying on an ocean of sand, and the Pyramids of Aboukir, Sakhara, and Darfour towering up in succession to the skies. Turning northward, your eye rests upon the widespread Delta in the distance, and nearer, in the northeast, upon the lone obelisk of Heliopolis. Immediately before you rise the precipitous heights of Mount Mokattam, crowned with the citadel of Cairo, under which lies the ancient city, enveloped in a thin vapour, which just suffices to hide the deformities of the place, while a thousand domes and minarets, of graceful proportions, their gilded crescents glittering in the sunbeams, rise up to complete the vision of beauty. I turned from gazing on it to look upon the rocky plain immediately around the pyramid. There, deeply buried in the rock, now covered with sand and rubbish, lie the dead of four thousand years ago. It is, indeed, a vast necropolis. It seemed as though I were among the earliest born of men. From the plains before me had gone forth the elements of science, art, and wisdom, to Greece, to Europe, to America. I felt as a child, born after unnumbered generations, returned to the home of his ancestors, and behold! it was all desolate.

My musings were interrupted by my young companions. An Arab had been teasing them to give him five piastres as a fee for ascending the Pyramid of Cephre-

nes, which is rather a perilous adventure, as the sides remain smooth for some distance from the summit. At last the bargain was struck, and he was away. I scarcely missed him before he appeared, perfectly naked, on an angle of Cephrenes, a little dark speck like a beetle, distinguishable only by his moving. I watched him closely as he ascended the jagged corners and rugged side, where the casing was off or much fractured: he quickly reached the summit and stood erect, presenting the clear, dark outline of a boy about two feet high, and swinging his right hand in the air, he screamed out "*nine* piastres," and was answered by a loud, long huz-zah from our company on the top of Cheops. Taking it for granted that we had consented to his demand, he immediately began to descend.

We now came down to the entrance of the great pyramid, which is on the north side, near the middle, and about the sixteenth layer up. The first descent into the pyramid is through a passage about four feet wide and five feet high, dipping south at an angle of about twenty-six degrees. At the distance of eighty feet we came to a nearly perpendicular opening on the right, up which we clambered to the foot of a passage, ascending, at an angle of about thirty degrees, perhaps one hundred feet, to a horizontal avenue which conducted us to the Queen's Room, large and lofty, and lined throughout with semi-polished granite. There was nothing in it but the dust of four thousand years. Returning by the horizontal passage, we continued our ascent up the inclined plane to the King's Chamber, where is a fine red granite sarcophagus, which gives a metallic sound when struck. Doubtless it was enclosed in the room when the pyramid was built, as it is impossible that it could have been subsequently introduced

by any known passage leading to the room. It was probably the tomb of the builder of the pyramid, but his dust has long since been given to the winds. This chamber also, as well as all the passages, are lined with semi-polished granite. Retracing our steps to the first inclined plane leading from the entrance, we descended it until our way was choked up by rubbish and sand. This we regretted exceedingly, as it led to the great room cut in the natural rock on which the pyramid stands. We returned, and emerged into the open air covered with perspiration. The pyramid contains many undiscovered rooms and passages. Those through which we passed are not the original avenues of access from the exterior to the several rooms. The interior arrangement of this vast structure is yet a mystery.

Having thus narrated briefly the circumstances of our visit to the pyramids, I shall now endeavour to give the reader a clear idea of their relative positions, and of the character of the remains around them. It is hoped that this may be accomplished by the aid of the following plan, taken from Wilkinson. (See p. 58.)

The irregular area, bordered on the plan by shadows, is a portion of the plateau of natural rock before alluded to, on which the pyramids stand. This plateau, as the reader may see by inspecting any map of Egypt, extends for many miles along the Nile, forming the eastern barrier of the great Libyan Desert. The section of country between it and the river is some 150 feet lower than the rock-boundary, and varies in width at different points. From the Pyramids of Ghizeh, the distance to the river is about four miles.

The plan exhibits the three principal pyramids of Ghizeh, a number of smaller ones, and various tombs

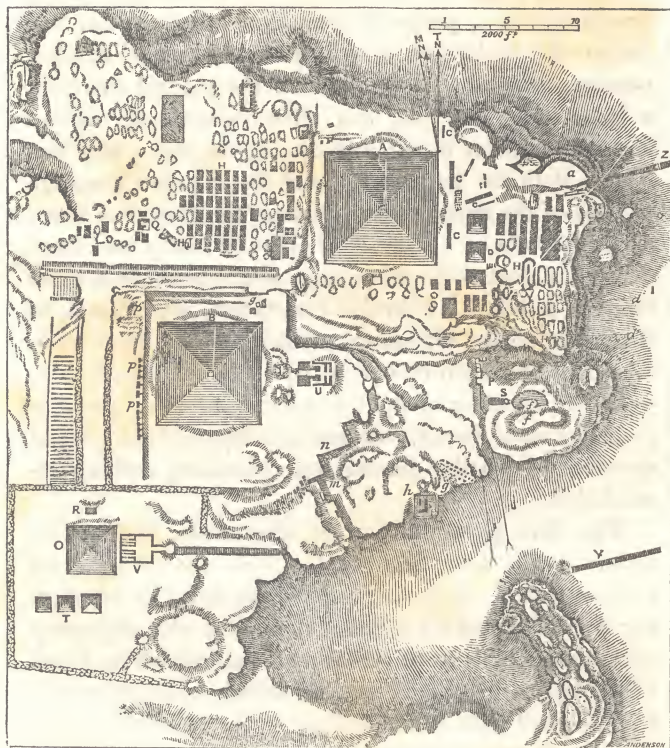
of different characters. The largest pyramid (A) is that of Cheops, and is the one about which most is known. Its dimensions are variously given, but the latest and most careful measurements are those of Colonel Vyse, who gives its height at 480 feet, and the length of the present base at 746 feet—longer than a side of many of the blocks in the city of New-York. Five chambers have been opened within this immense mass, and one of them, as I have remarked, contains a sarcophagus. The entire mass is not artificial, as the natural rock has been reached by some explorers, and is found to rise to a considerable height above the external base of the structure. Herodotus says that the stones employed in the erection of the pile were hewn from quarries in the mountains of Arabia, and dragged to the Nile, where they were received into boats and transported to Memphis. But as they are of the same nature as the yellow limestone rock on which the pyramid stands, it is more likely that they were quarried immediately around its site.

The second pyramid (B), that of Cephrenes, is distant about 400 feet from the first, in a southwest direction. Its dimensions are, base, 684 feet; perpendicular, 456 feet. From the summit downward, its surface is smooth for some distance, having been cased or coated with hewn stones: it does not appear that the larger pyramid ever had this coating, or that that of Cephrenes was finished. As the ascent is quite difficult, except for the nimble Arabs, who will run any risk for buksheesh, we did not attempt it. The interior of this pyramid was explored by the indefatigable Belzoni, who, after incredible labour and perseverance, succeeded in finding the entrance in 1816. He advanced through a granite passage, inclined at an angle of

twenty-six degrees, to another horizontal avenue, which terminated in a perpendicular shaft some fifteen feet deep. At the bottom of this well commenced another passage, which led to the door of the central chamber, a large room forty-six feet three inches long, sixteen feet three inches broad, and twenty-six and a half feet high. Both the last passage and the chamber itself are cut out of the living rock. Sunk in the floor was found a sarcophagus of red granite, eight feet long and three and a half feet wide, containing some bones, said to be those of a bull. An Arabic inscription, in charcoal, on the walls of the chamber, attested a visit from some one of the Saracen monarchs—probably Mohammed I.—in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Two other passages were discovered, one of which led to a second chamber of smaller dimensions, containing nothing remarkable.

The third pyramid, that of Mycerinus, is 280 feet square at the base and 162 feet high. It remains yet to be explored. Belzoni made preparations for attempting it, but desisted for want of time, after clearing away an immense amount of rubbish, beneath which he found a number of blocks of granite, which he supposed to have formed part of the casing of the pyramid, as, indeed, he found a portion of this coating at the base still remaining.

Smaller pyramids exist, as may be seen from the plan (D T), near those of Cheops and Mycerinus respectively; but they are generally covered with sand and rubbish. Besides these, the whole region is covered with tombs, fragments of mausolea, tumuli, and deep pits or vaults, excavated in the solid rock to the depth of sixty or a hundred feet. Many of them have been laid open by the labours of Caviglia and others, and



TOPOGRAPHICAL PLAN OF THE PYRAMIDS OF GHIZEH.

- A, Entrance to the great pyramid.
 B, Entrance to the second pyramid.
 C C C, Long pits, by some supposed for mixing the mortar.
 D, Pyramid of the daughter of Cheops.
 H, Tombs of individuals, with deep pits.
 P, Here stood a tomb which has received the title of the Temple of Osiris.
 Q, Tomb of trades, to west of tombs H.
 R, A pit cased with stone, of modern date.
 O, The third pyramid.
 T, Three small pyramids.
 U V, Ruined buildings, whose original use it is now difficult to determine.

- Y, Southern stone causeway.
 Z, Northern causeway, repaired by the Caliphs.
 a, Tombs cut in the rock.
 d d, Tombs cut in the rock.
 S, The sphinx.
 f, Pits, probably unopened.
 g, Pits.
 h, Stone ruin on a rock.
 k, A grotto in the rock.
 m n, Tombs in the rock.
 p, Tombs cut in the scarp of the rock.

in most of them human bones are found. Dr. Lepsius's workmen had just uncovered one of the deepest pits at the time of our visit; and we saw a sarcophagus of red granite, in excellent condition, that had been taken out of it. They had also exposed one of the tombs or monuments, a very solid erection of stone, built on the limestone rock. In the wood-cut, C, C, C are long pits, supposed by some to have been used for mixing the mortar employed in building the pyramids; H, H, H are tombs with deep pits; P, Q, R, large tombs; U, V, ruined buildings, whose purpose is unknown; *a, d, d, k, p, p*, tombs cut in the rock; and *h*, a stone ruin on the surface of the rock. The reader must not suppose that these, vast as they are, are the only cemeteries of the ancient Memphis; remains of the same kind, equally curious and extensive, are found along the line of rocky plateau for ten or fifteen miles up the river, as far as Darfour. Remains of pyramids are found along the whole line: those at Sakhara and Darfour are the most remarkable.

The object of these structures, and the period of their erection, are questions about which the world has been making inquiry for ages. Pliny's pithy sentence, *Pyramides, regum pecuniæ otiosa ac stulta ostentatio*, contains about all that is really known of the matter. That there was much money spent is certain; that there was a deal of ostentation in the spending of it after this fashion is equally certain; but whether the real design of the author of these great works was political or personal—*ne plebs esset otiosa*—or to perpetuate his memory and preserve his ashes, can only now be matter of conjecture: unless, indeed, a Lepsius, or some such antiquarian devotee, should carry on the work so well began by Champollion and Rosellini, and

unfold still more of the secrets of that wonderful people who once dwelt by the River of Egypt. The most reasonable hypothesis, founded on the position of the pyramids, in the midst of a vast cemetery, and favoured by the fact that sarcophagi have been found in them, is, that they were designed for the mausoleums of the monarchs who built them. It has been supposed, from the exact position of all these structures, with reference to the four cardinal points, and from the fact that in the six which have been opened the principal passage preserves the same inclination of 26° to the horizon, that they were built and used for astronomical purposes. But there could have been no necessity for such erections for the purpose of celestial observations in so flat a region; and if there were, there is no fitness whatever in them for such an object. Sir John Herschel has shown that, at the time when it is supposed the great pyramid was built (2123 B.C.), the passage must have been directly pointed at the star *a Draconis*, which was polar at the time; but this adds no strength to the hypothesis that the purpose of the building was celestial observation. Upon the whole, we adhere to the supposition, that as man has committed the greatest of his follies in attempts to perpetuate his memory, these mighty edifices were designed as monuments for tyrants, whose history, as they deserve, has perished. At the same time, it may not be impossible that future explorers may discover, in some of the many chambers which yet doubtless exist within these eternal piles, the ancient records of the house of Pharaoh.

I shall not detain the reader with a notice of the various theories that have been offered in regard to the time of the building of the pyramids, but simply present, as the substance of what is known (or believed

on probable grounds), the statement of Wilkinson.* “The oldest monuments of Egypt, and probably of the world, are the pyramids to the north of Memphis; but the absence of hieroglyphics, and of every trace of sculpture, precludes the possibility of ascertaining the exact period of their erection, or the names of their founders. From all that can be collected on this head, it appears that Suphis and his brother Sensuphis erected them about the year 2120 B.C.; and the tombs in their vicinity may have been built, or cut in the rock, shortly after their completion.” The precise dates given in Wilkinson are, Suphis, the Cheops of Herodotus, builder of the first pyramid, 2123; Suphis II., or Sensuphis, the Cephrenes of Herodotus, the second pyramid, 2083; and Mencheris (Mycerinus), the third, 2043. A gray antiquity indeed.

THE SPHINX.

East of the second pyramid, at some hundred paces distant (S, on the plan), is the mysterious Sphinx, hewn out of the living rock, near the edge of which it stands, facing southeast in the direction of the ancient city of Memphis, from any elevated point of which its placid countenance might have been seen. At the time of our visit nothing but the head and neck were visible, the rest being buried in the sand. The face is much disfigured by the disintegration of the soft sandstone of which it is composed, and also by the arrows of the Arabs, who hold all images in abhorrence; yet its expression is remarkably mild and agreeable. As so little of the figure was visible when I was there, I must be content, as all recent travellers are, to take M. Caviglia’s account of that part of it which is covered by the sand. After

* Ancient Egyptians, i., 19.



three months' labour, with the aid of a hundred Arabs, he succeeded in uncovering the whole figure to its base. The paws extend fifty feet forward from the body, and between them is a large block of granite, sculptured in bas-reliefs and hieroglyphics, and several tablets, so arranged as to form a small temple, in front of which was a small lion, *couchant*, with its eyes directed towards the Sphinx. On the paws themselves several inscriptions were traced. The date of the Sphinx, according to Wilkinson, is B.C. 1446, in the time of Thotmes IV.; but this is doubtful.

CHAPTER VII.

ANCIENT MEMPHIS.

Sakhara.—Tombs and Pyramids.—Mummy Birds.—Metrahenny.—Site of Memphis.—Return to Cairo.—Mr. Leider and the Coptic Mission.—Its Prospects.—Schools.—The Copts.—Their Number and Position in Egypt.—Their Doctrines and Church Government.

AFTER a hasty luncheon in one of the empty tombs cut in the perpendicular face of the rock, and now occupied by peasants, we set out at four o'clock for Sak-hara. In two hours we came up with the pyramids, and in another reached the village. Knocking at the door of a mud cottage, we obtained admission, and leave to spread our pallets on the floor. After our hard day's work, sleep was grateful; but we were all up next day before the sun, and on the way to the Pyramids. They stand on the same rock-plain as those of Ghizeh, but it is here higher and more extensive, and literally honey-combed with tombs cut deep in the rock. The largest of the pyramids is built in successive terraces, diminishing to a point. We did not care to enter it, as there was nothing of special interest to be seen, but rambled over the fields of the dead that surround it. They have been dug over and over again by the Arabs in search of mummies, for the sake of the scarabei of silver, gold, or porcelain which are often found within the folds of the wrapping, and are sold as antiques. In consequence of this rifling of the tombs, the whole plain is thickly strown with human bones and mummy linen.

On the northeast edge of the plain is the singular repository of *mummy-birds*, cut in the solid rock. There are wide subterranean avenues, from which lateral cuts

are made in various directions, and these are the receptacles of the mummy-birds. Creeping, or, rather, sliding in feet foremost, over the loose sand which nearly blocked up the entrance, we found ourselves in the midst of millions of these singular remains of antiquity. The mummified birds, neatly wrapped in linen, were enclosed each in a rough, earthen crock, nearly in the shape of a sugar-loaf, and sealed up tightly with a gray cement. We broke open several, and found some of the birds well preserved, while others crumbled into a black powder the moment they were exposed to the air. I had a half dozen of the jars carried to Cairo and sent home for the museum of Dickinson College. An Arab promised also to deliver a mummy for me in the city, but he broke it to pieces in bringing it down.

From Sakhara we crossed the lower plain eastward towards the river to the village of Metrahenny. Here are found vast heaps of ruins, amid which brick walls and arches are discernible; and scattered over the plain, amid the palm-trees, are many fine blocks of marble and fragments of granite columns. Here, too, is a colossal statue of Sesostris, fallen on its side, amid the foundation walls of the edifice it had adorned. It was formerly concealed by soil and rubbish, which have recently been removed, and the statue, at the time of our visit, was lying in a shallow pond of water, exposed in length twenty-five feet, from the knee to the top of the head. We were on the site of the ancient Memphis, and this was all that remained of the proud capital of Egypt, while the tombs of her Pharaohs and their subjects still stand, and their bones whiten at this hour upon the edge of the desert.

We recrossed the river some distance above Ghizeh, and descending the eastern bank, passed through

the ruins of the Persian Babylon, and of Fostat, the first city of the Caliphs, and entered Cairo by the gate on the southeast. Paul led the way, Mr. D. followed, I followed Mr. D., all at the top of the speed of our spirited animals, made still more spirited by the driver of each lashing him at every leap. We threaded the narrow streets, dashed through the Italian bazar, and arrived at our hotel without having done any other mischief than my unveiling a woman by the rowel of my spur (which, by some strange Arab whim, was on the outside instead of the inside of the stirrup) catching her shawl and carrying it suddenly away. I let my foot go back as far as possible, and became disentangled without stopping. I confess, if I had been governor of Cairo, I would have arrested the Christian dogs for so indiscreet and dangerous a feat. The only apology I can offer is, that I did not lead, but follow, somewhat against my will, calling out to Paul and Mr. D. to slacken their speed; but they heeded not, and my donkey-driver would not be left behind. We proved such good riders as to elude collision with camel, donkey, humble pedestrian, or grave Turk on horseback, though we ran by them a thousand times like a well-adjusted piece of machinery moving in a groove.

I spent two Sabbaths in Cairo, and had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the Rev. Mr. Leider, the Church missionary, and his estimable wife. We were indebted to them for kind attentions, good advice, and much useful information.* Mr. L. and his colleague, the Rev. Mr. Kruse, are the only Protestant missiona-

* At their hospitable board I met with several interesting persons, among whom was the Rev. Dr. Wilson, from India, now engaged for the Scotch Church in inquiring into the condition of the Jews in the East. I also met with the wife of the French consul, a native of Sennaar, a district adjoining Abyssinia.

ries in Egypt. They have been about fifteen years engaged in the mission at Cairo, designed for the benefit of the Copts; but such is the jealousy of these native Christians that the missionaries can have but little access to them. I twice attended divine service in the mission Chapel, and found perhaps twenty persons present, and most of these Franks. I think there were not half a dozen native Christians. The hopes of the mission are in their schools, one of which is designed to prepare teachers for the Coptic population. As yet, however, there has been but little encouragement for these young teachers, owing to the disinclination of the common people to be taught. Of course, the young men who have been educated for teachers, finding no employment in schools, enter the government service as clerks and accountants, and thus fail to accomplish the object of their education. In this respect the mission is incidentally made to subserve the interests of the Pacha. There are two other schools, one for boys, under the care of Mr. Leider, and one for girls, under the inspection of Mrs. L. The pupils are taught the elements of a common education, and carefully instructed in religion. But it is feared they are too young, when they depart from the schools, to influence their community, and most of them resume the same religious views and feelings which prevail among their people.

Yet, notwithstanding these discouragements, there is hope in the mission. It is as a mustard-seed, and may grow, as a little leaven that may leaven the whole lump. The elements of Christianity in Egypt are not inconsiderable, whether we regard the number of native Christians, the organization of their churches, or their relative influence in the state.

The Copts constitute the great body of native Chris-

tians, and are the descendants of the Egyptians who dwelt on the Nile in the times of the Romans. There are 150,000 in a population of less than 2,000,000, making about one in fourteen. Since the accession of Mehemet Ali they have acquired influence in the government by being intimately concerned in its fiscal affairs; and as they are equally protected with the Moslems, and are not subject to military service, they must increase in number, wealth, and influence. They are Eutychians in faith, believing that there is but one nature in Christ, which is divine, and which has so completely absorbed the human that there is no ground of distinction between the two. Their church government is the same as that of the other Oriental churches. The head of the Church is the Patriarch of Alexandria, who resides at Cairo, and claims to be the regular successor of St. Mark. Under the patriarch are bishops, priests, and deacons. There is the same blind submission of the people to the priesthood which is observed in all the Oriental churches. In doctrines also they have followed the general conceptions of the East; and although their articles of faith are not so well defined as those of Rome, yet they hold nearly the same views with respect to Baptism, the Lord's Supper, confession, penance, fasts, and purgatory. But with respect to images and statues in churches, they are nearer the Greek than the Roman Church. They have felt the influence of Moslemism with respect to the presence of women at the public service. Although they are admitted, they are confined to the lower end of the church, the farthest from the sanctuary, and are excluded from the view of the congregation by a screen.* Their government, forms of worship, and faith have remained the same for more than a thousand years.

*Throughout the East the men and women occupy different parts of the church, and sometimes different churches.

CHAPTER VIII.

MEHEMET ALI AND HIS POLICY.

Birth and Early History of Mehemet Ali.—His Rise in the Army.—Named Pacha of Egypt.—Strifes with the Mamelukes.—Their Massacre.—Introduction of European Discipline.—Colonel Sèves.—Creation of an Army and Navy.—Conquest of Syria.—The Pasha aims at Independent Sovereignty.—Interference of the European Powers.—Bombardment of Beyrout and Acre.—Designs of France and England in the East.—Policy of England.—Character of Mehemet Ali's Government.

I HAVE thought it best to collect into a short chapter some observations on the political state of Egypt, and the condition of the country generally, under the government of Mehemet Ali. A brief account of this remarkable man, and of his rise to power, may not be out of place.

The year 1769 gave birth to three men who have certainly filled a greater space in the public eye than any others of the last generation. Within the space of a few months, Napoleon was born amid the mountains of Corsica, Wellington in Ireland, and Mehemet Ali at Cavalla, a little village of Rumelia. In point of energy, and perhaps of intellect, the Albanian is not inferior to the duke or the emperor. Certainly he has accomplished results as great, for his sphere and the means at his command, as either of them. Commencing his career as a tax-gatherer, he displayed the same vigour and severity in gathering the sultan's tribute which he afterward employed in collecting his own. Fortunate speculations in tobacco, and a marriage with a rich relative of the governor of the village, made him a man of importance, and he rose to power with all the magi-

cal rapidity of Oriental life. He was appointed second in command of the contingent of troops furnished by his native district to the Turkish army at the time of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, and entered that country with his three hundred Albanians in 1798. His bravery and skill soon gained him the rank of a general of division. After the expulsion of the French, he adroitly took advantage of the quarrels of the Mamelukes, the weakness of the Porte, and the attachment of the Albanians to his own person, to lay the foundation of permanent authority for himself in Egypt. No crime was too black, no treachery too base, to be perpetrated by the aspirant when his purposes needed them. If the Porte sent a pacha, he embroiled him with the Mamelukes, and destroyed him. If the Mamelukes were too strong, he embroiled them with one another and with the Egyptian people. The sultan commanded his return as Pacha of Salonika ; but it was easy to disobey—and there was no remedy. At last, the Porte, following its usual policy with successful rebels, made the Albanian tobacconist Pacha of Egypt.

But the Mamelukes yet stood in his way. Accustomed for centuries to domineer over the feeble dwellers on the Nile, these daring horsemen were not disposed to yield their power at once. Although greatly reduced in numbers, they were capable of dividing the authority of the pacha, and determined to do it. The ill-fated English expedition of 1807, under General Frazer, was undertaken with the hope of securing that country to the British crown, mainly by the aid of the Mamelukes. Planned in folly, it ended in defeat ; the hopes of the Mamelukes were crushed, and Mehemet Ali was stronger than ever. But yet, scattered as they were by thousands throughout the country, they were a con-

stant source of embarrassment to him, and he determined to be rid of them. Meantime, the Porte, jealous of his rising power, commanded him to undertake an expedition against the Wahabees, a heretical tribe who had obtained possession of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, in the hope that he might be destroyed, if not in the expedition itself, by the rebellion of the Mamelukes in his absence. The wily Pacha at once took his resolution. The Wahabees should be punished, but the Mamelukes should first be exterminated. With what craft and cruelty this terrible purpose was accomplished, I have already stated in another place.* The massacre over, the attention of the Pacha was at once turned to Arabia; and after a toilsome struggle, he succeeded completely in recovering the sacred cities from the heretics, and thus added another element to his power, by clothing himself, in the minds of the faithful Moslems, with the prestige, not merely of a conqueror, but of a heaven-sent and heaven-protected warrior.

For years the Pacha had cherished the design of introducing European discipline into his army, but the pressure of events prevented him from taking any direct measures to accomplish his object until after 1815. He commenced the movement by an attempt to train after the French system, by means of a few French officers, a regiment of his Turkish and Albanian troops. The scheme failed: the stubborn Turks would not be cabined and cribbed in tight coats or Frank pantaloons; the wild Albanians had no idea of submitting to drill; so they made short work of it by murdering their officers and plundering Cairo. The danger was imminent; but Mehemet showed his usual coolness, recalled his obnoxious order, issued a general amnesty, and turbans and submission became the order of the day again.

People do affirm that shortly afterward some of the rebellious chiefs vanished mysteriously; but perhaps that is all scandal.

The Pacha was bent on having European discipline notwithstanding, and determined to make another effort with different materials. Native Egyptians were selected to form the nucleus of an organization; a French officer of good repute, Colonel Sèves, an aide-camp of Marshal Ney, was engaged to superintend the undertaking. It was eminently successful; and without any farther difficulty than an occasional shot at the Frenchman's head from some unruly Turk or Arab straggler who did not fancy the battalion drill, a few years worked wonders. At last the Pacha had a tolerably well-disciplined army—cavalry, artillery, and infantry—amounting to eighty thousand men, far more effective than any Turkish army of twice the number.

The creation of a navy was also a favourite object with Mehemet, and he pursued it with characteristic ardour. He had gathered by 1827, partly by purchase, and partly from shipyards established by himself, quite a tolerable fleet. The battle of Navarino shattered it; but it was again renewed, and in 1835 amounted to over fifty vessels, twenty of which were ships of the line and frigates. The Syrian campaign bore witness to its efficacy.

The army of the Pacha found employment and experience in Upper Egypt, Arabia, Nubia, and at last on European ground, in the Morea. Here, fighting for the sultan, Ibrahim Pacha, Mehemet's distinguished son, gained his early fame as a warrior, and displayed the same energy and daring that he afterward employed so successfully against his master. While the troops of the Pacha were thus occupied abroad, he was busy at

home, maturing the organization of his government, establishing arsenals, dockyards, military schools, roads, canals, and manufactures. He invited Europeans of all nations and of all classes into his service. He introduced new modes of agriculture, European books, teachers, and printing presses. To all outward appearance, he was renewing the youth and the vigour of Egypt. The world was filled, in a few years, with accounts of the wonders he had wrought. Men thought of him as one of the master spirits that appear occasionally in the course of centuries, and change the face of nations. The "enlightened policy" of the Pacha of Egypt was in everybody's mouth. Predestination was at last to be disappointed, and the Moslems were to be made industrious; Egypt was to become again the granary of the world, Alexandria the queen of cities, and the Bedouins to forget their itinerant propensities, and have quite respectable farms in the Desert.

The conquest of Syria filled up the measure of the Pacha's fame. His way had been prepared by the errors and misfortunes of the Porte. After the loss of Greece, Sultan Mahmoud became the tool of Russia, and lost the confidence of his people, who regarded him as the ally of infidels and accursed of God. The extortions of his subordinates exasperated the Christians of Lebanon to rebellion, and Emir Bechir, the strongest of the native princes, took refuge with Mehemet Ali. The people of Damascus, together with some remnants of the janizaries who had fled thither, rebelled against Mehemet Selim, whom the sultan had appointed to the pachalic, and massacred him. All Syria, in 1831, was either in revolt against the Porte, or ready for it. Doubtless this state of things had its weight in inducing Mehemet Ali to invade Syria, but the ostensible cause

of his first movements was something entirely different from a design to dismember the Turkish Empire. Abdallah, pacha of Acre, had rebelled against the Porte and been deposed; but, by the interposition of Mehemet Ali, had been restored. But he soon forgot the obligation, and even refused to pay a debt of some twelve millions of piastres justly due to his benefactor. A worse grudge arose. A number of Egyptian peasants had escaped from their oppressive master on the Nile, and taken refuge in the pachalic of Acre; Mehemet demanded their restitution, but Abdallah refused to deliver them without an order from the sultan. Mahmoud was appealed to, and replied that "all the subjects of the empire might go wherever they chose." It is said that when this answer was reported to Mehemet Ali he was greatly enraged, and cried out, "I must pay tribute, and furnish soldiers to the Porte, while my people are enticed away, my revenues destroyed, and my debts unpaid." Bad as the Pacha was, then, he was not altogether in the wrong. At all events, he makes out a strong case against Abdallah and the Porte, and justifies himself pretty well for taking the law into his own hands.

This he did most effectually. Proclaiming that he came to aid his master, he sent ten thousand troops across the desert, who were received almost everywhere in Syria with open arms, and marched speedily to invest Acre, the key of the whole country, the impregnable fortress which had baffled Napoleon. Attacked both by sea and land, Abdallah held out for eight months with 3000 Turks; but fresh troops arrived from Egypt, and Ibrahim broke open the gates of the town. The Porte was alarmed, and with good reason. Mehemet and Ibrahim were degraded from their pachalics; they

were excommunicated by the Ulemas, and all good Mussulmen forbidden to succour them ; and, what was more to the purpose, Hussein Pacha, the most renowned of the Turkish generals, was sent with a large force to "conduct his armies to Aleppo, and thence to Egypt," as the boastful firman had it. But this was easier done in the firman than in reality. Ibrahim had already taken Damascus, and soon advanced to meet the Turkish army. At Homs he broke it to pieces, and in a few days entered Aleppo. Driving the Turks across the Taurus, he defeated their whole army of 50,000 men at Koniah, and was advancing with rapid strides towards Constantinople, when Russia interfered, and the Turkish Empire was saved. By the convention of Kutayah of 4th May, 1833, the pachalic of Syria was conferred on Mehemet Ali.

Take it altogether, this was a wonderful achievement. Whether the Pacha intended it all is doubtful. We are too apt, in reading and writing history, to make heroes capable of "seeing the end from the beginning." One step led to another ; his ambition grew by what it fed on ; and so the Pacha of Egypt became lord of Syria, and almost master of the Turkish Empire.

The government of Syria was administered by the Pacha with his usual severity. True, he abolished at once the irregular extortions and capricious cruelties of the Turkish subordinates, but it was only to introduce a system more galling still to people little accustomed to regular authority. His conscriptions were carried on as fiercely among the villages and hills of Syria as upon the banks of the Nile. This could not last. Insurrection after insurrection arose ; but the Pacha was too strong for Syrian rebels. Pretexts were thus afforded to him for renewed conscriptions, and for

the maintenance of a large army in Syria, which was greatly increased after the great rebellion of the Druses in 1837. It was supposed for years that these armies were intended not merely to keep Syria quiet, but to support farther encroachments on the feeble Porte. At last, in 1838, Mehemet Ali threw off the mask which he had worn so loosely, and determined to erect his authority into an independent and hereditary sovereignty. The governments of France and England warned him of the consequences of such a step, and declared that all the powers of Europe would unite in support of the sultan in the contest that might ensue. Honest men, who are not versed in the intricacies of European politics, will doubtless wonder why they should interfere at all. But Mehemet went on in spite of warning. The sultan sent an army against his troublesome pacha: the troublesome pacha almost annihilated the sultan's army at Nezib on the 25th of June, 1839. It was time for the European powers to interfere more effectually than by mere warnings, if they meant to keep the ambitious pacha out of the throne of the Othmans. His way was open to Constantinople: the powers stepped in and closed it. France took the lead in this movement at first; and the five great powers, in conference, sent an official note to the sultan, assuring him that they would maintain the integrity of his empire. This was an emphatic voice, saying to Mehemet Ali, "Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther." But the European powers were not so disinterested as to interfere in this matter merely to save the caliphate or the Porte; each had its private ends in view, and a very pretty European broil had like to have grown out of this Eastern Question, as it was called. France and England were jeal-

ous of each other's management with regard to Egypt and Syria, and both were jealous of the insidious movements of Russia in Constantinople. Mehemet demanded the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt and Syria; the Porte replied by dismissing him entirely from all his offices and commands. He regarded the firman of the sultan about as much as Napoleon did the excommunicatory bull of the Pope. France sided with the Pacha, and demanded, in his behalf, that he should be established permanently in Syria; the other powers opposed the demand, and finally settled the matter without the concurrence of France. With any other monarch than Louis Philippe, this would have caused a war; but that skilful and pacific ruler not only avoided war, but strengthened himself upon his throne by dexterously using the boisterous elements around him, and securing the fortification of Paris. Meantime, Mehemet Ali, relying upon the representations of France, persisted in all his demands in spite of England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. At last, by the autumn of 1840, they had made up their minds to use conclusive arguments, and the world was soon startled by the bombardment of Beyrout, and the destruction of St. Jean d'Acre. Mehemet soon found that it was one thing to fight with Turks and Arabs, and quite another to have his battalions mowed down by British grapeshot, and his fortresses blown up by British bombs. The ultimatum of the powers offered him the hereditary government of Egypt. Before the report of the allied guns had been heard upon the Syrian shores, he had disdainfully refused it; but, after the fall of Acre, he was glad to make any terms that would leave him in power at all. So he was made hereditary lord of Egypt, a dignity unknown

before among the dependants of the Porte, and greater, perhaps, than he hoped to secure for himself. The interference of the European powers in the Eastern Question ended, therefore, in restoring Syria to the sultan, and leaving Mehemet Ali secure in Egypt.

It may not be amiss to recur again to the question why France, England, and Russia should meddle in Egyptian affairs at all. I shall take occasion hereafter to show the designs of Russia upon Turkey and Greece: as to Egypt, it is clear that France and England both need it, and both want it. The powers are settled as to their policy of preserving what they call "the integrity of the Ottoman Empire"—not that they care a fig about the Ottoman Empire itself, but that each is afraid the other will get too large a share of the spoil when that empire falls to pieces. But they had no idea of so preserving that "integrity" as to depose Mehemet Ali. Russia, even, would keep him in power, in order to preserve her own influence at Constantinople as the defender of the Empire; England, that he may act as a check upon the movements of Russia; France, in the hope of using him for her own purposes. England is obviously advancing, with her usual craft, in her ordinary career of *grasping*. She holds military positions upon the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; in the Mediterranean she holds Malta permanently, and Cyprus as a naval station; and even now she is negotiating, I believe, for a fixed position at Suez. She disclaims all intention of aiming at the possession of Egypt and Syria; but if she believes herself in this disclaimer, nobody else does. The great high road from England to India *must* be in her power, beyond the reach of contingencies, and she will never rest

until it is so. If it can be obtained without fraud or bloodshed, it will ; but *obtained* it must be, at any rate. The ever-watchful jealousy of France, on the other hand, will be on the alert to thwart any such movement on the part of England ; and, more than this, France herself looks with longing eyes upon Egypt, a possession towards which she has had a “ natural instinct,” as M. Thiers phrases it, ever since its conquest by Napoleon. She already has a footing in Africa ; and if to Algiers could be added Egypt, not only would her influence in Europe be greatly extended, but she would be able to attempt something of importance against the English possessions in India, which, it is well known, are held by a more precarious tenure than any other part of the vast dominions of Britain. The disposition of Mehemet Ali himself inclines more favourably towards France than England, and with good reason.

The government of Mehemet Ali has been alternately praised and traduced in Europe, until men’s minds have got into a perfect fog about it. Believe the French writers in general, and you will consider him a wise and skilful ruler, arbitrary to be sure, but no more so than is necessary for the good government of such a people ; endowed with great foresight—in fact, a leader of civilization. Believe a traveller from the other side of the Channel, and he is a hard, grasping, selfish despot, with intelligence enough to know how to oppress his people, but so miserably shortsighted as to destroy the only elements on which substantial power can be established, by the very means which he takes to secure it. The truth probably lies between these two extremes. The government of Mehemet Ali is an absolute despotism. The people over whom he rules are a

blind, bigoted, and slavish race, accustomed for ages to all forms of oppression. In judging, then, of what Mehemet Ali has done, we are to compare him with other Oriental despots. In judging of the present condition of Egypt, we are to consider what it would have been, not under English or French dominion, but under the feeble authority of the sultan, and the capricious administration of pachas purchasing their post and changed by the year.

One great result of good government is obvious to every traveller in Egypt upon the face of things. He finds his person and his property everywhere secure. The streets of Alexandria or Cairo are as safe as those of New-York; the passage of the Nile, as that of the Hudson. Nor is this absolute safety of person and property confined to the cities: the power of the Pacha is ubiquitous, and neither the mountaineers of Upper Egypt, nor the Bedouins of the Desert, dare to molest an unprotected traveller. All this strikes a stranger at once, and favourably. But if he infer anything from it as to the comfort of the *native* population, he will deceive himself. Although justice is administered among them with far more regularity than under Turkish functionaries, they are still oppressed and punished, almost *ad libitum*, by the subordinates of Mehemet. An instance occurred in our own experience. Our Greek courier, George, fell out with our Arab servant in ascending the Nile, and went to the bey upon arriving at Cairo, demanding that Abdallah should be flogged. It was done accordingly, before I knew anything about it. The poor fellow came to me afterward, complaining bitterly. He was placed upon the ground with his face downward, and each foot and hand held by a man, while two others struck him alternately with thongs

on his bare back, until he had received thirty lashes. It seems that the bey had a grudge of his own to gratify against Abdallah, as he had once before ordered him a punishment, from which the British consul rescued him; so in this case he caused the flogging to be inflicted at once, and told George to stand by and see that it was well done. Such things occur every day. A Frank can have an Arab in his service punished at pleasure, or can flog him for himself if he prefer it.

While the Franks in Egypt reap great advantages from the Pacha's government, so also do the native Christians. All religions are tolerated with the utmost freedom. Under the Turkish government, Christians were weighed down with ignominy: they had no civil or social rights; they were the objects of universal contempt; the government persecuted them, and the Mohammedans, even of the lowest classes, insulted them at pleasure. All this is changed. The Christian in Egypt stands on an equal footing with the Mohammedan as a citizen, and is even freed from some of the worst evils which the Turkish population suffer. The conscription passes by the house of the Christian, while the children of his Mussulman neighbour are mercilessly hurried off. Both in Egypt and Syria the Pacha has raised Christians to the highest dignities of the state. While this state of things has contributed very much to civilize the Mohammedan subjects of the Pacha, it has also, perhaps, weakened their attachment to their own religion in some degree. The stronghold of that religion has heretofore been the supreme contempt in which its professors have held all Franks and infidels. But it is impossible that this contempt should continue under Mehemet Ali's policy, by which the vast superiority of the arts and civilization of the Franks has been forci-

bly displayed to the people of Egypt. The Pacha himself has set a bad example of disobedience to the Koran. He drinks his two bottles of Bordeaux after dinner; Ibrahim Pacha indulges himself, it is said, very freely in Champagne; while Abbas Pacha, the grandson, is a notorious drunkard. But while many of the moral precepts of the Koran are neglected by those in authority, the Pacha is careful to attend to the externals of worship, and keeps up his reputation as a good Musulman in spite of his delinquencies. After careful inquiry, however, I could not find that there was as yet any increase of favourable feeling towards Christianity among the people of Egypt. I have already remarked that Christian missions do not flourish among them. The exhibitions of Christianity which arrest their attention are not such as to elevate it in their estimation. The Copts are a miserably ignorant and bigoted race; and the Frank inhabitants, being generally adventurers from the very dregs of European society, are men utterly destitute even of outward morality. I am sorry to say, too, that many Frank travellers throw off the restraints of morality on entering Egypt, and exhibit none of the attractive virtues of Christianity.

Much eulogy has been spent upon the efforts of the Pacha to establish manufactures and improve the modes of agriculture in Egypt. As for the former, he could have been guilty of no greater absurdity. The whole system has been forced and unnatural. His cotton mills and woollen factories, his dye-shops and print-works, are monuments of a blind avarice that has overreached itself. The attempt to transplant Manchester to the Nile could not be expected to be other than fruitless. By a system of grinding oppression, he has kept his factories at work thus far; but as soon as the pressure of

his iron rule is removed, they will fall into decay. As for agriculture, he has thrown it back, so far as the real interest of the people is concerned, half a century. His conscriptions have absolutely not left men enough to till the ground, and in many places on the Nile the desert is reclaiming its own again for want of cultivation. The only permanent advantage that will remain to Egypt from Mehemet's experiments will be the culture of cotton, for the introduction of which he was indebted to a Frenchman by the name of Jumel, who chanced one day to notice a cotton-plant in an Egyptian garden, and turned his attention to its cultivation. He succeeded; and the Pacha, with his usual zeal, entered into the project of raising cotton with great success. Egyptian cotton now almost rivals American in the markets of Europe. But the cotton, like the flax and grain of Egypt, is gathered into the warehouses of Mehemet Ali. He is, in fact, an immense monopolist of all branches of trade and commerce. With all his sagacity, he has adopted a scheme of economy which will effectually prevent the success of his attempts to increase the wealth and productiveness of the country. He regards everything in the land as his own property; meddles with everything, and spoils everything. By a regular series of despotic measures, he has got all the soil, as well as the commerce and manufactures of the country, into his own hands, and considers the Fellahs, or peasants, as slaves attached to the soil. This unhappy class of men, who are naturally a robust, well formed, and industrious race, are reduced by his oppressions to the lowest degree of human wretchedness. Whether the season is propitious or unpropitious, the Pacha's rents must be paid. With hardly any personal interest in

the results of his toils, the fellah must work like a slave to fill the granaries of the heartless ruler.

The numbers of the peasantry have diminished enormously under the constant conscriptions for the army. It is impossible to describe adequately the cruelties that have been practised on this unfortunate race in the execution of these conscriptions. When an order is given for a levy of troops, the process by which they are raised is very summary. Recruiting parties are sent through the country and into the villages, and young men are seized by the wayside, in the fields, or in the houses of their parents, and carried off by force. Occasion was taken, for several years, to pounce upon any large assembly of the people at a festival or funeral, to surround them with a body of troops, select all the young and able-bodied men, and march them off. The people at last avoided all such gatherings. An anecdote, related in the *Foreign Quarterly*, will admirably illustrate the mode of recruiting practised by the amiable Pacha. A short time after the battle of Nezib, being in urgent need of troops to recruit Ibrahim's wasted army, and finding that the people would not assemble at the fêtes, he hit upon a notable expedient for drawing them together. "He induced a Christian slave, in one of the large villages of Egypt, to commit some offence against the Mohammedan religion, the penalty of which was death. The man was promised not only that he should not lose his life, but also, that if he played his part well to the last, he should receive a handsome reward. The Christian was tried with great formality, and sentenced to die. The governor, who was in the secret, ordered that the execution should take place with unusual pomp, as the offence was one which excited great indignation among the faithful; and to do

honour to the ceremony, and under pretence that a rescue might be attempted, several hundred soldiers were marched into the village without exciting suspicion. On the day appointed for the execution, the peasantry of the country for miles round flocked into the town. The man was tied up, and the signal for execution had only to be given, when, suddenly, the soldiers closed upon the populace, and driving out all the women and children and the old men, bound the rest and marched them off. It is but just to say that the supposed culprit was released, thus showing that Mehemet Ali could keep faith. If he had chosen to break it, the poor fellow might have been executed without having an opportunity of imploring the despot to spare the life which he had solemnly promised to preserve."

The entire result of Mehemet Ali's government may be expressed in one sentence: in his forty years of administration, the population has been diminished one half. This one well-attested fact sufficiently proves the ruinous character of his measures. Whatever else he may be, he is no statesman. He has attempted to do impossible things. He has employed means to raise revenue which have dried up the very sources of revenue. He has made the mass of his people wretched. The very glare which emanates from his external improvements only heightens the darkness of the gloomy background. The people of Egypt have been worse governed under the enlightened Pacha than they were under the wild and ignorant Mamelukes. They have exchanged the weak tyranny of the Porte for the iron despotism of Mehemet. It would have been a blessing for *them*, I have no doubt, if the European powers had acceded to the wishes of the sultan in 1840, and depo-

sed entirely the unjust, unscrupulous, and tyrannical viceroy of Egypt.

The character of Mehemet Ali is a bundle of contradictions. His power of intellect is unquestionable, and yet he can be imposed upon by any European adventurer. Avaricious as a miser, he yet squanders his hoards on foolish experiments. With sagacity enough to gain and keep a footing more precarious than that of any living ruler, he has himself sapped the foundations of his own power. As for moral qualities, his history develops such as we find exhibited by every Oriental aspirant for power; and in craft and guile he surpasses even the most treacherous of the caliphs. If a deed of treachery is to be done, however, he adds no unnecessary elements of crime to its perpetration. If a piece of cruelty is to be achieved, he does it without reluctance or remorse, but apparently without any love for the cruelty itself. An unrestrained ambition and an absorbing avarice are his ruling impulses. To gratify the latter, he has sacrificed the blood and treasure of the people without stint; to satisfy the former, he has not hesitated to sacrifice his own. Such is Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt: a cunning despot, in advance of his people, not in moral power, but in intellect and sagacity, adding some of the excellencies and many of the vices of the European to all the dark traits of the Mohammedan. His race is nearly run. No man can tell whether Ibrahim, his daring but headstrong son, or Abbas, his drunken grandson, will inherit his power, or whether it will revert to the dominion of the Porte. It will be again an apple of discord, doubtless, for France and England. It would be well for Egypt, at least, if one of the great powers of Europe could take and keep possession of that land of old renown and perpetual

beauty, so long the prey of contending robbers—so long the “basest of the kingdoms.” It would not be surprising if some daring son of the Nile, maddened by oppression, should find his way into the presence of Ali, and exclaiming, “Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?”* enforce the pungent question by the only argument that tyrants cannot resist.

* Exod., x., 7.

CHAPTER IX.

CAIRO TO SUEZ.—ROUTE OF THE ISRAELITES.

Preparation for Departure.—Tualeb.—Striking a Bargain.—Loading Camels.—Departure from Cairo.—View from Besatin.—Difficulty of determining the Route of Israel.—Valley of the Wanderings.—Petrified Forest.—Gebel Rhiboun.—Probable Point of Israel's Departure.—Position of Ramesses.—Of Zoan.—Inferences from the Narrative in Exodus.—Length of the Journeys not decided by the Narrative.—Etham.

WE had now finished our rambles in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and began to think of tracing the Israelites to Mount Sinai. It was important that we should have suitable guides and servants, together with camels, tents, furniture, and provisions. Mr. Leider assisted us much by despatching a messenger on a swift camel to the encampment of Tualeb, the chief of the Tawaras, whose tents were pitched, for the time, on the edge of the Desert near Belbeis. On the arrival of the old chief, Mr. L. brought him to our hotel, and upon entering, he put off his sandals at the door. He was dressed in a long red robe falling down to his ankles, with loose sleeves open to the elbows, and wore a long, rude, wooden-handled sword, girded on with a leather belt. Upon being introduced to me, he kissed my hand and applied it to his forehead. Mr. Leider talked with him in Arabic, and during the conversation he evinced quickness of perception, and expressed himself with vehemence and much action. He did not waver in his price, which was 150 piastres (about seven dollars) for each camel from Cairo direct by Suez to Mount Sinai, and 100 for each from Mount Sinai to Akaba ; but as we had de-

terminated to take the southern or Besatin route to Suez, which no American, and but few Englishmen had travelled, we had to pay twenty piastres more for each camel; and as we determined also to take the southern route from Suez to Mount Sinai, through the wilderness of Sin and Wady* Feiran, we had to add ten piastres more, making 180 piastres for each camel from Cairo to Mount Sinai. This paid for the camel and his driver, and the subsistence of both. The bargain being concluded, I gave Tualeb 158 piastres, and upon taking leave of us, he insisted upon kissing our cheeks, at the same time engaging to meet us next day at the American consul's to execute the writings. He came at the appointed hour. Two copies of an agreement were made in Arabic, and after it was read to him, he took a small seal from his bosom, and covering its face with a little thick ink, impressed it on the papers: I added my name, and the agreement was complete. One copy was left with the consul, in order to bind Tualeb, for he knew well enough that he would lose his head if he should fail in his agreement, and the consul should complain to the Pacha.† The other copy we took with us.

Besides our own servant George, the Greek, we took with us also an Arab, *Said*, who had twice made the pilgrimage to Mount Sinai and Jerusalem. A venerable French physician from Lyons, about seventy-six years old, making his fifth pilgrimage to Jerusalem, under a vow to visit the Holy City every five years, joined our party under our contract, and had also a servant with

* *Wady* is the Arabic word for *Valley*.

† About ten years before this, Tualeb and his companions had been condemned by the governor of Suez to be shot for some little infidelities to Alexandre Dumas, while travelling in the Desert, and was saved only by the intercession of the Frenchman and his suite.

him. In addition to six riding camels for our own party, and three for the aged Frenchman's, we took two to carry water, two for the tents and baggage, one for Tualeb, and two for tenders, messengers, or guards, as the case might be, so that our entire caravan consisted of sixteen camels.

Knowing that Derb el-Besatin did not abound with comfortable hotels, like a European road, we made good provision for our wanderings; and, like Israel, went not out from Egypt "empty, but rich and full."

Our own tent was a large, gay marquee of different colours, furnished with matting, mattresses, and quilts; a smaller one answered for the servants and the kitchen. The skins of two young buffaloes contained water for cooking and washing; and two new oaken casks, each two thirds the size of a barrel, water for drinking. Two huge cane panniers, of the shape and nearly the size of the China crates of commerce, received our provisions, coffee, tea, sugar, rice, macaroni, bread, hams, dried tongues and apricots, pepper, salt, &c., together with wine enough to afford one bottle a day for the whole company. Each of us was provided with an iron plate, cup, and spoon, and a rough knife and fork. Our portmanteaus were sent back to Malta, and replaced by large Turkish saddlebags, made of coarse cotton canvass lined with oilcloth, and defended outside by a covering of red leather.

Our departure was fixed for Monday morning immediately after breakfast; and although we had complained of the number of camels which Tualeb had insisted on our taking, when our effects were all collected in the court of the hotel, we began to believe he was right, and even yielded without much persuasion to his demand for another beast. At ten o'clock the Arabs and their camels assembled in front of the hotel, and the

loading commenced, and with it loud and violent contentions between the camel-owners, each one objecting to his beast being overburdened. The timely and prudent interference of the old sheikh finally prevailed at every point where the conflict was the sharpest, and at two o'clock all the burden-camels were on their feet, and their drivers standing under their lofty necks, with halters in hand. We threw our saddle-bags over the high wooden pack-saddles, which had already received large sacks of provender, spread our quilts over all, and with a bound seated ourselves aloft, amid the hurrah of the Bedouins. Our caravan was immediately in motion, and issuing from the gate at the northwest, we swept around the city to the eastward, passing behind the citadel, and among the tombs; and a little after four o'clock pitched our tents near the miserable little village of Besatin, about five miles south of Cairo. In front of us, to the west, flowed the mighty Nile, beyond which, in full view were the pyramids of Ghizeh and Sakhara, looking down upon the site of Memphis, which once stretched along the opposite bank of the river. Behind us, on the east, the dark ranges of Mount Mokattam, and of Gebel* et Tih, approached each other as they receded from the river, leaving a comparatively narrow defile between them, called Derb el-Besatin. We were encamped in the mouth of this defile, where it opened out like a funnel suddenly and widely towards the river, enclosing a large desert plain, which joined the cultivated land at the village. A slight inspection of a good map will show that the great highway from Memphis to Suez, and thence to Syria and the East, lay through Derb el-Besatin.† It was the shortest and least sandy, and even

* *Gebel*, Arabic for *Mountain*.

† Even at present the caravans occasionally take this route from Cairo to Suez.

now has good water on the route. There is reason, indeed, to believe it was once well watered and inhabited.

When the traveller departs from Egypt for Mount Sinai, he feels a strong desire to follow the route of Israel, who went out more than 3000 years ago, under the conduct of Moses and of God. But from what point shall he depart, and where will he find the path? The point of departure will depend chiefly upon the residence of Pharaoh at the time, but somewhat also upon the point on the Red Sea where the waters were divided. If these two can be determined, the route may be considered as settled. I do not pretend to say that these questions can be satisfactorily answered. Difficulties attach to all the extant theories as to the route of the Exode, and the arguments in regard to them can be at best but a balancing of probabilities. Deferring, for the present, a formal examination of the different opinions which are held in regard to the way of the Israelites, I shall now merely indicate the reasons which led me to pursue the southern route in preference to the northern.

The route by *Derb el-Besatin* had, since the travels of Sicard and Shaw, in the early part of the last century, been regarded as the road of the Israelites, until within a few years past. This fact, together with the strong representations of Mr. Leider, who had recently explored the route under the guidance of the Bedouins, and whose mind seemed entirely made up on the question, induced me to examine it for myself. I must acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Leider for his valuable communications, although the views which I shall present in regard to the route will be found to differ considerably from those of Sicard and Shaw, which Mr.

L. has in the main adopted. My own object in taking the way of El-Besatin was to determine for myself, if possible, whether the physical features of the country corresponded with the view of Sicard and with the Scripture statements.

To return to our narrative. On the next morning, at eight o'clock, we ascended the Derb el-Besatin, and in two hours reached a range of valleys divided from each other by moderate elevations of a broad, swelling form. This region, which is comparatively level, is marked on all good maps, *Wady et Tih*, or *Valley of the Wanderings*; and this general name is applied to the great valley all the way to the Red Sea, although particular portions of it bear particular names. Here was presented to us a scene desolate and wonderful beyond conception. As far as the eye could reach, the whole country was literally covered with a petrified forest, lying just as the timber had fallen. The appearance of the whole was natural in the extreme. The spectacle reminded us strongly of a clearing in one of our Western forests, where countless trunks and fragments of trees cover the ground in confusion. In many cases the form of the roots and limbs is perfectly preserved; the knots and the texture of the wood are visible; and we could even determine what part of the tree was unsound or wormeaten at the time of the petrification. The trunks, some of which were three feet thick and eight yards long, were generally broken transversely into sections of from one to three or four feet in length. The colour of the wood was mostly dark brown, and its texture very close. When struck, it gave a ringing sound like cast iron.

Some idea of the extent of this petrified forest may be formed from the fact that we travelled through it for hours; and even on the next day, detached portions of

it were occasionally seen, and single specimens even on the third day.* It is probable that it extended northwardly over the valleys and rolling hills which lie between Mount Mokattam and Gebel Atakah, as travelers along the northern route from Cairo report the occasional appearance of petrified fragments there. No one can doubt that the forest grew on the hills and valleys where it now lies prostrate; and the inference is unavoidable that the whole district was once fertile and well watered.

Striking our tents on the morning of the second day, we began to ascend towards the valley of Gondelly. Here we found abundance of good water. Ascending from Gondelly, we soon came in sight of Gebel Rhiboun, a remarkable insulated conical mountain, about 200 feet high, and 700 diameter at the base. Its top appears to have been covered with a dark iron-stone, which has been rent into a million of pieces, and scattered over its sides.† Beyond this mountain, towards the northeast, is an open country, through which the great caravan route lay from Memphis to the head of the gulf at Suez.‡ To the right, the country declines gently east by south into the valley of Ramleyeh, which leads by a remarkable defile, through a mountainous desert, to the sea. But while the country declines thus in the southeast into the defiles leading to the sea, it is comparatively open on the northeast, leaving a wide and easy passage in the direction of Suez, between the east side of Mount Gharboun and the western flank of Gebel

* From the slight manner in which Wilkinson speaks of these petrifications, remarking that they are "miscalled a forest," I am inclined to believe that he has never seen the body of them at all.—*Wilkinson's Egypt and Thebes*, vol. i., p. 300, ed. 1843.

† As we passed this mount a shower of rain fell briskly for ten minutes.

‡ See Map.

Atakah, whose black and broken masses project even into the Red Sea.* It is precisely at this point that we intersect, as I conceive, the route of the Israelites, on their way from the Land of Goshen, after they had been ordered to turn from the direct route to Sinai, in order to be "led about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea." It is proper, therefore, that I should present here my views of their point of departure from Egypt, and of their course up to the time of their entrance into the Wady et Tih, after which the thread of my own narrative will be immediately connected with theirs.

In Numb., xxxiii., 8, we have the following: "And they departed from Rameses on the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month;" and in Exod., xiii., 17, "And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near: for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt; but God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea."

The first point to be determined here, obviously, is the position of Rameses, from whence the Israelites departed. Shaw and others, who believe that they departed from the neighbourhood of Cairo, consider Rameses to be the name of the *country*, and not of a city simply. With this view I was inclined to coincide; and during my stay in Egypt, indeed, I thought the arguments in favour of it could not well be controverted;

* Between the eastern flanks of Mount Mokattam and the western of Mount Atakah, the country is broken down into hills, valleys, and insulated mounts, extending northward from Wady et Tih to the district between Heliopolis and Suez, where all agree was the Land of Goshen; access from which to the Wady et Tih, or Valley of the Wanderings, was easy through this district, as will clearly appear by consulting Dr. Robinson's map.

but on a careful examination of the matter, guided by Hengstenberg's clear argument in regard to the position of Rameses, and also of Pharaoh's court, I have felt bound to adopt the view which Dr. Robinson and Hengstenberg support, that Rameses was situated in the Land of Goshen, between the Pelusiac arm of the Nile and the Bitter Lakes, at a place which is now called Abu Keisheid, and so marked on the map. The scholars of the French Expedition identified this place with the ancient Heroopolis; and Hengstenberg argues clearly that this was the Rameses of the Book of Exodus. His argument is founded upon the Septuagint version of Gen., xlvi., 28, 29, in which it is evident that, in the view of the Seventy, the Rameses of the Bible was the same as the Heroopolis of the Greeks. But the settlement of the question where the court of Pharaoh was at the time of the miracles is more difficult. Here, again, I think that Hengstenberg has argued well, that the *Tanis* of the Greeks—the Zoan of the Scriptures—was the royal residence at the time. I must confess that it is not without great difficulty that I admit this against the general tenour of Egyptian history, which fixes Memphis as the capital of that country. But Egyptian history is silent, so far, at least, as it has yet been interpreted, in regard to the residence of the Israelites in Egypt, and their exode from that country. Moreover, it cannot be shown that Zoan was *not* the capital, or one of the capitals of the country, *at the time of the Exode*. We are therefore left to make out the case principally from the statements of Scripture, and these all tend towards Zoan as the centre of interest for the Israelites, while they are comparatively silent in reference to Memphis.

The antiquity of Zoan, and its immediate connex-

ion with the Israelites, is remarkably illustrated in Numbers, xiii., 22, where it is thus mentioned parenthetically: "Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." This passage not only proves that Zoan existed in the time of Abraham, but also shows its connexion with Israelitish history, and its prominence among the cities of Egypt. There is another class of passages in the Prophets which tend to prove that this city was one of the capitals of Egypt, because we find it included among the chief cities denounced by them. Thus, Ezek., xxx., 13, 14, "I will cause their images to cease out of Noph (Memphis); and I will make Pathros desolate, and will set fire in Zoan (Tanis), and will execute judgments in No" (Thebes). Also, Isa., xix., 11, 13: "Surely the princes of Zoan are fools, and the counsel of the wise counselors of Pharaoh is become brutish; the princes of Zoan are become fools, the princes of Noph are deceived." But the most decisive passages are Psa. lxxviii., 12, 43, in which it is expressly declared that the Lord performed the miracles connected with the Exodus of Israel "in the field of Zoan;" passages which cannot be safely interpreted, as Shaw and others would have it, to mean only the "land of Egypt." (See from verse 43 to 54.)

The testimony of the Scriptures, thus decisively given, is confirmed by the enormous mounds that exist at Tanis, and the very numerous remains of columns, obelisks, statues, and sculpture, which indicate the former extent and splendour of the city: the names of some of the Egyptian monarchs, Rameses, Pthahmen, and Osirtasen III., are found inscribed upon these fragments. Many of the hieroglyphics are yet to be copied and examined.*

* Wilkinson, *Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, vol. i., 449.

Taking it for granted, then, that the court of Pharaoh at the time was at Zoan, and that the Rameses of Exod., xii., 37, was at the place now called Abu Keisheid, we afford abundant opportunity for the frequent communications between Pharaoh and Israel, by the agency of Moses, which are mentioned in the Scripture narrative. The people were fully informed of these communications by Moses and Aaron from time to time, and were daily expecting leave to depart. At last, after repeated refusals on the part of Pharaoh, the Lord declared to Moses (Exod., xi., 1), that after "one plague more" the king would let Israel depart; and ordered him to "speak in the ears of the people, and let every man borrow of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver and jewels of gold." Farther (chap. xii., 3), "Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, In the tenth day of this month they shall take unto them every man a lamb," &c.; "and ye shall keep it until the fourteenth day of the same month; and thus shall ye eat it, with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand, and ye shall eat it in haste." Moses, in giving his own directions to the elders on this sacrifice, tells them (ver. 22), "None of you shall go out at the door of his house until the morning." Then came that night of terror, when the angel of Death visited every house in the land of Egypt, from the monarch's palace to the lowliest hovel. The proud heart of Pharaoh gave way, and he called for Moses and Aaron "by night," and said, "Rise up, and get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel."

From the above narrative three things may be gathered: first, that the people had indeed made preparation for departure, under the direction of Moses, before

the fatal night of the fourteenth ; but, secondly, that they were not gathered into any one place, but were scattered in "their houses" and "among the Egyptians" until that very night ; and thirdly, therefore, that although Rameses was probably the headquarters of Moses, Aaron, and the elders, the host of Israel was not collected there.

Finally, the summons came. In the length and breadth of Goshen, from Heliopolis to the borders of Philistia, the terrified Egyptians urged the people of Israel to depart out of their land in haste : "and they departed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the month : on the morrow after the Passover the children of Israel went out with *an high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians.*" From the Tanitish arm of the Nile, along the river bank even to Cairo, they streamed forth from their dwellings, and the long lines of men, women, and children, with caravans of flocks and herds, took their march in the direction of the "mountain" (Horeb) where God had commanded them to worship. The gathering hosts from all parts of the land would thus converge towards the head of the Gulf of Suez. Their first encampment was at Succoth. How much time elapsed before this halt is not stated, nor can the place of Succoth itself be determined, if, indeed, any particular town was so designated. The word means "booths." The next camping-place was Etham. Here, again, the time of journeying is not mentioned. The position of Etham cannot be accurately known, but it is stated (Exodus, xiii., 20 ; Num., xxxiii., 6) to be "in the edge of the wilderness." Probably it was in the eastern part of Egypt, north and west of the head of the gulf. Hengstenberg well remarks, that what "Rüppell says (Reise, i., p. 209) shows that the eastern part of Egypt deserves

the name of a wilderness as well as Arabia Petræa." But as it was not *in* the wilderness, but on the *edge of it*, that Israel encamped, we may place Etham farther west than the hypothesis of those who advocate the view that the passage of the Red Sea was effected at Suez, will allow. Perhaps the encampment at Etham was not far from the water-shed between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez, in the neighbourhood of Gebel Awei-bid. Thus far, the front of the advancing hosts, coming in whatsoever direction they might, had been directed towards Suez as their nearest route to Horeb. But at Etham their course was changed. "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they *turn* and encamp before Pi-ha-hiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baalzephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea. For Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are entangled in the land; the wilderness hath shut them in" (Exodus, xiv., 1-3). This injunction must have at once arrested their march towards Suez. There is no "wilderness" in that neighbourhood of a character to give rise to any such expression on the part of Pharaoh. It was "by the way of the *wilderness of the Red Sea*," and not by the "wilderness of Etham," that God was to lead them; and that, too, in order to show his might by a miracle of deliverance, and his vengeance by the destruction of Pharaoh and his host. What Hengstenberg, with inimitable naïveté, calls "an inexplicable misunderstanding," through which the Israelites "thrust themselves again into the midst of danger," was the purpose of God, as is clearly set forth in the sacred narrative. God determined to "be honoured upon Pharaoh, that the Egyptians might know that he was the Lord."

Israel turned, then, to the right, and advancing south-

ward, passed up the Besatin road on the west of Gebel Atakah, and then bearing east, and passing between Gebel el-Gharboun and Gebel Atakah, came into the open country, which declines gently, as I remarked (before this digression as to the Exode), to the southeast, into the valley of Ramleyeh. At this point we resume the course of our own personal narrative.

I 2

CHAPTER X.

ROUTE OF THE ISRAELITES.

Wady et Tawarik.—“The Wilderness.”—Gebel Atakah.—Pi-ha-hiroth.—The Red Sea.—Conditions of the Scripture Narrative not fulfilled at Suez.—Plain of Baideah.—Comparison of the different Routes proposed.—Raumer’s View.—No limitation of the *Times* of journeying set in Scripture.—Conclusions.

THE Wady er Ramleyeh opens into the Wady et Tawarik, which leads directly down to the Red Sea. The chasm that connects them is a terrible defile, walled in on the south by dark, precipitous mountains, which a daring hunter could scarcely scale; and on the north, by the black and broken masses of Gebel Atakah, which preclude the possibility of passage in that direction. Both these ranges project into the sea on the east. When information was conveyed to Pharaoh that Israel had turned from the highway leading to the head of the gulf, and advanced into this “wilderness of the Red Sea,” he said, “They are entangled in the land: the wilderness hath shut them in.”—Exod., xiv., 3. On the third day we realized the full force of this declaration of Pharaoh, and how natural it was for him to resolve to pursue them, as it was impossible for them to escape out of that wilderness except through the sea; for as we descended the Valley of Ramleyeh about two o’clock P.M., the rugged and lofty mountains on the south projected across the valley and joined themselves to Gebel Atakah. They presented in front of us a dark, precipitous mountain wall, through which no passage appeared. We approached within a hundred yards of the frowning precipice before we could see a rent to

the left, perhaps 250 feet wide, with black slaggy walls towering up from 200 to 300 feet on either hand.* We felt as if we were running into danger as we entered this most remarkable gorge. Its general direction was east and west, but it was so zigzag that we could not see along it for half a mile at any one place. At no point was it more than 500 feet wide, and oftentimes not more than half that width. We were one hour and forty minutes passing through it, which makes it about five miles in length. This is the Tiah Beni Israel, *the road of Israel* of Shaw.† The issue out of this gorge was as unexpected as the entrance into it. Suddenly the mountain walls broke away on both sides, at right angles, disclosing a plain ten miles wide by twelve or fifteen in length to the sea: on the left, Gebel Atakah; on the right, Gebel Dereg, both extending into the sea, which lay in view, with the gloomy range of Gebel Rahah beyond. In this plain Israel encamped by the sea before *Pi-ha-hiroth*. I am inclined to believe, with Shaw, that Hiroth denotes the "space of ground which extended itself from the edge of the wilderness to the Red Sea;" and that "the part of this tract where the Israelites were ordered to encamp was called Pi-ha-hiroth, that is, the *mouth* of Hiroth." As for Migdol and Baalzephon, nothing but conjecture can be given respecting them. As Migdol signifies a *tower*, it may have been a fortification at the entrance of this valley on the sea, to guard the pass from it in the direction of Memphis; and Baalzephon may have been a tower or

* A little to the right of where we entered this gorge is a well of good water.

† This gorge drains all the country west, as far as Rhiboun, and not only bore marks of strong currents, but the floods rise eight to ten feet, as was evident from the light trash lodged high up on the shrubs. The Bedouins say that they cannot pass through it at some seasons, on account of the floods.

station at the Wells of Moses, on the east of the Red Sea, "over against Migdol." Here, then, Pharaoh found the Israelites. How could they escape? impassable mountains on either hand, the sea in front, and the Egyptians occupying the gorge in the rear.

Thus the geographical features of the country from Wady Ramleyeh to the plain on the sea fulfil the conditions of the sacred narrative in a wonderful manner. Let us now learn how the sea at this point fulfils the conditions of the miracle.

By recent accurate surveys made by Captain Moresby for the Oriental Steam Navigation Company, it is ascertained that the sea is not quite ten miles wide at this point; a sufficient width to require much of the night for Israel to cross it, and to afford space to enclose the whole of the army of Pharaoh. Its direction is north and south, so that an "east wind" would blow directly across it, opening a passage, so that "the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left." And in their song of triumph after their passage, Israel sung, "With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together; the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea."—Exod., xv., 8. It is clear, from these passages, that the bottom of the sea was not made "dry land" by a recession of the tide, aided by a strong wind. An east wind would not aid the tide at all, and the retiring of the tide would not fulfil the conditions of the miracle with respect to a "wall" of water on either hand; and this produced by the "congealing" of the waters, so that the "floods stood upright as an heap."

There is but one other point where the Israelites could have approached the sea from the west, and that is in the immediate vicinity of the modern town of Suez.

But it does not appear to me that the conditions of the miracle could have been fulfilled there, on account of the shallowness of the water, which would not allow of "walls on each side enclosing the depths of the sea," which at that point could not have covered the Egyptian host, so that "not so much as one of them remained," on account of the narrowness of the gulf.* Even when the tide is in, the water is so shallow that the India steamers have to lie five miles below Suez; and once, when it was out, Napoleon forded the gulf just above the town.†

It follows, that the only point at which they could have crossed, and the conditions of their miraculous passage been fulfilled, was from the remarkable plain lying upon the sea between Mount Atakah or Mount of *Deliverance*, and Mount Dereg. On the gloomy headland of this latter mountain is a point called *Pit-tah*, or Mount of Wonders. The plain itself is called *Baideah*, or Plain of Wonders. Thus suggesting, as do Atakah and Wady et Tih, that the tradition of the *miraculous* passage is impressed upon the mountains and valleys.

I have presented in the preceding narrative my own view of the course of the Israelites from Egypt to the Red Sea. Two other routes are advocated. The first may be thus stated in the language of Dr. Robinson: "The Israelites broke up from Rameses, and marched directly to the Red Sea, near Suez, a distance of some

* Opposite Suez the gulf is scarcely two thirds of a mile wide, and 200 yards north of the town it is not half a mile.

† "Taking advantage of low water, I crossed the Red Sea dryshod. Returning, I was overtaken by the night, and lost my way in the rising tide. I was in the most imminent danger, and very nearly perished in the same manner as Pharaoh: had I done so, the event would have afforded to all the preachers of Christianity a magnificent text against me."—NAPOLEON

thirty or thirty-five miles, by a level and open route, which they could easily accomplish in three days, the time specified in Scripture, allowing from twelve to fifteen miles as a day's journey."* The other view is that of Raumer, who admits, with Hengstenberg and Dr. Robinson, that Rameses was situated at Abu Keishid, but still, following Sicard and Shaw, asserts that Israel passed by ancient Babylon, and by the lower, or Besatin route, to the Red Sea. Against this last view, it seems to me that the general tenour of the Scripture narrative is conclusive. Israel was to go to Sinai. The course specified would have led them far out of the way at the very beginning. They were to escape in haste from the hands of the Egyptians; but to go towards Memphis was to run into the lion's mouth. It is, therefore, wholly inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the sacred narrative that Israel should have gone southwest to the Nile at Cairo, and thence up it to within sight of Memphis. But it is to be specially remarked by the reader, that the route which I have assigned them falls into the route of Sicard, Shaw, and Raumer at Wady Ramleyeh, a little south of Gebel Gharboun, and is coincident with it thereafter, assigning the *passage* of the sea at the same point.

The principal argument by which the former theory is advocated, is, that the Scripture narrative fixes the *time* of the journeying from Rameses to the Red Sea to *three* days only. This consideration is deemed conclusive against Raumer's theory, and, indeed, against every other except that which adopts the shortest route. But I cannot believe that there is any such limitation of the time of journeying set in Scripture. All that the Scripture asserts is, that "the children of Israel

* Bib. Sac., i., 564.

removed from Rameses and pitched in Succoth, and they departed from Succoth and pitched in Etham, which is in the edge of the wilderness, and they removed from Etham and turned again unto Pi-ha-hiroth, which is before Baalzephon; and they pitched before Migdol." There is nothing here to show that the Israelites encamped at the end of each day's journey. On the contrary, it is almost certain, from a comparison with other places in Numbers, in which the same phraseology is employed, that they did not. In the very next verse to those above quoted (Numbers, xxxiii., 8), it is stated that they went three days' journey in the wilderness, during which no encampment is mentioned. Shaw, more than a century ago, remarked the inaccuracy of this view, that only a day's journey intervened between the encampments of the Israelites; and Raumer has lately placed the argument in a very strong light.* He quotes Numbers, x., 33: "And they departed from the mount of the Lord three days' journey, and the ark of the covenant of the Lord went before them in the three days' journey to search out a *resting-place* for them." In Numbers, xxxiii., 16, the two stations Sinai and Kibroth-Hattaavah are named after each other, quite as directly as Succoth, Etham, and Pi-ha-hiroth are in verses 5, 6, 7; yet we know that Kibroth-Hattaavah was three days' journey from Sinai, though no encampment is mentioned between them. What appears to be entirely conclusive of the whole question is, that for the *month* that elapsed between the departure of the Israelites from Rameses and their encampment in the desert of Sin, but *six* rests are mentioned. In the face of all these passages, it is impossible to limit the time of the journey to the Red Sea to

* Beyträge zur Biblischen Geographie, p. 3.

three days. But there is still another difficulty. After the turning from Etham, there must have been time for the information to reach Pharaoh before he could pursue the Israelites; for it was in consequence of this information that he resolved on pursuit.—Exod., xiv., 3–51. The Egyptians were involved in the burial ceremonies for the multitude of children slain on the fatal night of the 14th (Exod., xxxiii., 4); and yet, according to the theory referred to, there was time enough for all this, and for Pharaoh's host to be gathered and to come up with the Israelites on their arrival at Pi-ha-hiroth! When we add to all these considerations the embarrassments attached to the theory that Israel crossed the Red Sea at Suez, which have been before stated, we shall probably be well satisfied that there are at least plausible grounds for doubting the views of Dr. Robinson and Hengstenberg. At the same time, these gentlemen are authorities of the very highest order, and I differ from them with great reluctance. I have aimed only to get at the truth, and at present I must, of course, believe that my own views approach nearer to it than any others with which I am acquainted. I am yet very well aware that difficulties may be started in regard to them. Some present themselves to my own mind; there may be others that do not. I leave the subject, repeating again, that the most we can reach in regard to it is a balancing of probabilities.

CHAPTER XI.

Shore of the Red Sea.—Approach to Suez.—Appearance of the Town.—Bedouin Tent.—Crossing the Red Sea.—Land in Asia.—Wells of Moses.—An Arab Mansion.—Miriam's Song.—Wilderness of Shur.—Encampment.—Our Company.—Arabs Sleeping.—Our Tent.—George's skilful Catering.—Life in the Desert.—Good Nature of the Arabs.

WE had entered the plain by the sea late in the afternoon, and immediately encamped. Next morning, after breakfast, I set out on foot, keeping my eye steadily on the waves, resplendent with the reflection of the sun. I was deceived in the distance, and after walking three hours, entered among the low gravel-hills which run parallel with the coast from the foot of Gebel Atakah southward to within two or three miles of Gebel Dereg. Between their southern extremity and Dereg the floods in the rainy season pass to the sea, cutting deep and broad channels through the plain. Our camels bore south to some wells of water, while my course was northeast. In the afternoon we crossed the naked gravel-hills, and descending to the beach, encamped on the seashore under the lofty promontory of Atakah, which seems to have projected into the sea, as the fallen ruins lay scattered on the beach even into the water's edge.

Next day our course lay north along the beach, the mountains crowding us on the left, and the waves occasionally laving our feet. A little after nine o'clock Suez appeared as a dark speck on the beach before us. As we advanced, the country opened out; and when we came up directly west of Suez, the whole range of vision northwest, north, and northeast, took not in a single mountain. How could the Jews have been "entangled in the land," and "the wilderness have shut them in,"

advancing upon Suez from this direction? It was impossible.

About one o'clock we arrived at the town, and pitched our tents on the sand outside of the walls, between the northern gate and the ruins of the ancient Kolzum. Six days' experience of Bedouin life inclined us to take dinner at the English hotel in the town. As we entered the gate, half a dozen lazy Arab soldiers lay on some mats keeping guard. They looked at us, but asked no questions. Close on the left, as we passed, a lad lay prostrate on his face, held down, with his feet turned up so as to expose the soles, on which an Arab inflicted violent and rapid blows with a stick. I supposed he was a servant of some boat-builder, as the matter occurred in a boatyard. It attracted no particular attention. While dinner was preparing we surveyed the town, and found it badly walled on three sides, the fourth being open to the water. The houses are irregular, of unequal size, and built of coarse stone: population perhaps 2000. The bazar was moderately furnished with very common European goods. The market afforded a sheep, which we had promised our Bedouins for a feast; but an hour or so after Tualeb had purchased it, he came to us for more money, saying that he had found a larger one. We said *no*, and refused all parley. About four o'clock we dined, and two of my companions resolved to sleep in the hotel, but Mr. C. and myself repaired to our tent.

After an early breakfast next morning I strolled over the high mounds of rubbish which mark the site of the ancient Kolzum, and found them similar to those near Alexandria and Cairo. Amid them I stumbled upon a Bedouin tent, of coarse black cloth, in which were a man, his wife and children, a sheep, and a goat or

two. They seemed tenants in common. At nine o'clock our tents were struck, and our caravan set off around the head of the gulf, which extends northward three miles. We agreed to meet them at the Wells of Moses, some eight or ten miles below on the eastern side, whither we were to go in a boat, in the afternoon.

At one o'clock we embarked for Asia on board of a small boat. We now learned that Tualeb had remained in town to procure a few pounds of coffee, a pocket full of tobacco, and some other little matters. Being urgently demanded, he came forth, and, to our surprise, had with him the sheep which we supposed had been devoured the night before. It was no use to object; sheikh and sheep were taken on board, and our sail was shaken out, but there was no wind to fill it. Our bark was poled all the way down, a distance of at least eight miles. There was rarely five feet depth of water, and, indeed, we often grazed the bottom. We looked forward with eagerness, and yet with reverence, to the shores of Asia, the cradle of the human family and the birthplace of our holy religion. The peninsula which we were approaching was the scene of God's immediate presence. Each of us sat silently meditating the first leap on shore, when suddenly we grounded about fifty yards from it, and the Arabs, jumping into the water, backed up to the gunwale, and offered their brawny backs to convey us to land. Each of us selected his man, and in a few minutes we slid down from the backs of our Arabs upon the consecrated soil of Asia.

Buksheesh rendered to our boatmen, we departed on foot for Ain Mousa, half an hour distant. The sun scorched us, and our feet were burned through our boots as they sunk three or four inches at every step into the incrustated sand. It was the first of February.

Arriving at the wells, we found our camels browsing on some shrubs which are nourished by the brackish waters afforded from six or eight shallow pools, which appear to be scooped out in the dark, hard earth deposited from the water itself, and which, in the course of three or four thousand years, has acquired considerable elevation, so that the waters are above the level of the grounds around. Some of these shallow wells are evidently recent, others are more ancient; from none of them was water running freely, but the immediate vicinity was moist, and a few stunted palms and shrubs somewhat relieved the surrounding desolation. A native merchant of Suez has a mud hut here, where he spends part of the summer. The mistress of the mansion, a dark Arab woman, appeared, with a child on her shoulder, and the corner of her shawl drawn over her face. A hundred turkeys and geese flocked around her, demanding their daily food. It reminded me of some of our Western scenes.

Did Moses dig these wells? Did the hosts of Israel assemble around them after their passage through the sea, or have they merely attracted the great lawgiver's name, which tradition has connected with almost every prominent point between Egypt and Sinai? It is not probable that Moses dug the present pits, but, from the nature of the ground in which they are sunk, it is likely they mark an important watering station for the Bedouins from time immemorial. It is also evident that they once occupied a lower level, which has been raised by constant deposition from the waters. This gradual elevation has diminished the quantity of water, thus rendering it more brackish. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude, that anciently the waters were abundant and sweet. And when we remember that Israel

crossed the sea only four or five miles to the south, and that nearly a month afterward they had advanced scarcely fifty miles towards Sinai, we may infer that they rested for some time in the neighbourhood of the miraculous passage. Yet we do not hear of any want of water until they had commenced their marches in the wilderness of Shur, when, having proceeded three days without finding any, they began to complain. Perhaps, then, they were supplied with water while they rested immediately after their forced marches from Egypt and their passage of the sea; and as there is no indication of water in this vicinity except at these wells and the fountain of Naba, half an hour to the north, they may have encamped around them for some time. Here every morning, as on that of their deliverance, in the presence of the whole camp of Israel, "Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam answered them, 'Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously;' and the band of matrons and maidens responded in full chorus, 'The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.'"

At four o'clock we mounted our camels and fairly entered the wilderness of Shur, the name of which is still retained in Wady *Sudr*. It is a gravelly district, lying between the black, mural range of Gebel Rehah, six or eight miles to our left, and the sea, from four to six miles to our right. It is crossed transversely by the dry beds of many torrents. In these a few stunted shrubs, on which our camels browsed as we rode along, were the only vegetation to be seen. This is the country of the Terabin Arabs, consisting of about forty families, whose coarse black tents travellers may occasionally see near the heads of the wadys in the mountains,

where water is to be found ; at the same time, their few goats are seen nibbling a scanty subsistence under the care of a dusky maid, whose slight covering scarcely conceals her person.

The second night out from Suez our tents were pitched among the gravelly sandhills which divide Wady War-dan from Wady el Amarah. The intense excitement which I had experienced from Besatin to the Wells of Moses had nearly subsided, and I had leisure to think of myself and my companions. I have already said enough of Tualeb : he continued to bear himself well ; but Materh was the favourite of the party. He is older than Tualeb, of a mild disposition, and venerable for his age and long gray beard. Inferior in rank, he never wears the red diadem, as Tualeb does, but yet rides on a camel. We had, besides, one tall, fine fellow, with a real Roman nose, and a youth whose peculiarly delicate frame and face suggested the idea that he might be a girl ; but this is impossible among Arabs. My gray-bearded camel-man, of small stature, light and agile, was my favourite. He had a benevolent expression of countenance, and his conduct agreed with it. I often, as we rode along, used to share with him my hard biscuit, figs, cheese, and bottle of water, when no one was near to see and demand part. The football of the caravan was a jet black negro, a slave to a Bedouin in Cairo, whose camel he accompanied. He was the nearest to a baboon, in appearance, of any human being I had ever seen, and so black that the flesh under the skin partook of the colour of the surface, if one may judge from the ebony gums enclosing his ivory teeth. The others merit no description. They were all lightly and coarsely clad, and at night divided into three parties, each around a fire of sticks and dry camel's dung, which they took care to collect

during the afternoon. Around these fires the camels were made to lie down in a circle, with their heads outward, as if to keep guard. Within the camel-circle the luggage was disposed, as an inner wall. These arrangements being completed, the Arabs open their long coarse shirts in front from the chin to the feet, and lie down close around the fires, with their faces inward. Then the unbroken silence covers all. How sweetly they sleep!

Our tent was quite a fanciful affair. It had twelve sides, alternately red and blue, and surmounted by a pyramidal top exhibiting the same variety. Within, mats were spread upon the sand to receive our cotton mattresses. A thick quilt, and our saddlebags for pillows, completed our bed furniture. I shall never forget the sweet sleep of the Desert. Our servants' tent was always pitched near at hand, containing our domestic conveniences, charcoal, stoves, the cooking utensils, &c. On our second night out from Suez, to our great surprise, George sent us in for dinner *greens* and delicious *radishes*, which he had obtained from the garden at the Wells of Moses. He did not explain whether he got them by purchase, plunder, or gift, nor did we stop to inquire until we had devoured them. The tent of the venerable French physician completed our group.

Our daily life in the desert was very regular. Rising with the dawn, we took breakfast at sunrise, and immediately afterward our tents were struck by the Arabs. While they were loading the camels with the luggage, we generally set off and walked for an hour or two. I never could learn when the Arabs or our servants breakfasted; the first, I judge, ate but once a day, and that at night, but the latter all day *en route*, for I never asked either of them for bread, figs, cheese, or a bottle

of water, but it was drawn forth from some secret hole in the luggage. The day was enlivened by talking and laughing with our good-natured Tawaras, as they walked beside our camels. Sometimes the young men of our party ran foot-races with them, and they enjoyed the sport exceedingly. One day Mr. S. won a rusty sword from the swiftest Arab in the company. He delivered it up promptly, but a day or two after received for it more piastres than it was worth. The Arab is not so remarkable for his fleetness as his endurance on foot. We kept on very good terms with them throughout our journey. They are easily won upon by kindness. We chatted freely with them, expressed our gratification when they pleased us, and always displayed the utmost confidence in them: they, in turn, served us with promptitude and fidelity.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DESERT OF ARABIA.

Bitter Waters of Marah.—Wady Ghurundel.—Elim.—The Twelve Wells.—First Sight of Mount Serbal.—Graves of the Guilty.—Encampment of Israel by the Red Sea.—A dangerous Passage.—Wilderness of Sin.—Wady Shellal.—Sinaitic Inscriptions.

EARLY on the morning of the third day from Suez, two lone palm bushes were discovered in the distance. We hastened to the spot, and found a shallow pit with scarce one hundred gallons of water. It was the *bitter waters of Marah*, at which the Israelites arrived on the third day of their march from the Wells of Moses. I stepped into the pit and tasted the water, which I found saline rather than bitter, and drinkable in case of great thirst. The well is scooped out on the top of a broad, flat mound, formed by a whitish substance, deposited from the water through the lapse of many centuries. It is probable that when the Israelites arrived here the hill had scarcely begun to form, and, of course, the waters were at a much lower level. This is rendered still more probable from the indisputable fact that the whole plain along the coast is now much lower than formerly, as is evident from innumerable table hills, of equal height and similar structure, scattered through the plain, showing that their tops are portions of the former level. Here the Israelites remained for some time, for it is said "there he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he proved them."—Exod., xv., 25. The Scriptures do not suggest that there was any want of water in this neighbourhood; but it was bitter, and hence the place was called Marah. It was miraculously sweetened by

throwing a tree into it which God showed to Moses. The Arabs now call the spring Ain Hawarah.

In two hours after leaving Marah we entered Wady Ghurundel, which seemed like green pastures compared with the steril and desolate tracts over which we had travelled since we left the Nile. It was full of large shrubs; and there were some small trees, among which were palms. As we passed down it for a little distance, our hungry camels devoured the thorny bushes with great zest. In a few minutes we turned to the left into Wady Useit, where our Arabs scooped out the sand two or three feet deep in different places, and found sweet water. We were at the Elim of Scripture, "where were twelve wells of water and seventy palm-trees."—Exod., xv., 27.

After drinking of the waters of Elim, we proceeded directly towards the dark mountains which advance northwest from Horeb, and project themselves into the sea, forming the high, precipitous masses of Gebel Hummam. This was the first glimpse we had of the wilderness of Sinai. Tualeb came rapidly towards me, and, pointing far away to the south by east, exclaimed, *Gebel Serbal*. I looked, and lo! a black mountain lifted itself into the heavens, the monarch of that world of desolation on which I had been intensely gazing. One of the old Arabs made me understand, by laying his head sideways in his hand, and inclining himself low down, that we were to sleep at its base. From its superiority over all the mountains of the Sinaite group, as seen on approaching from Egypt, it is not surprising that Gebel Serbal was long considered the "Mount of the Lord," and that the rocks in its vicinity, and even its airy pinnacles, were written over with ancient inscriptions.

In this neighbourhood we saw two graves, on each of which the Arab throws a stone as he passes. The one is the grave of a guilty pair, who fell victims to the vengeance of the injured husband and his friends: so Tualeb taught us. The other the grave of a young girl, who sickened and died on the spot where she now sleeps a foot or two below the surface of the sand. It is decorated with small strips of red and white stuffs, apparently torn from the garments of the passers-by, and hung on sticks over the rude stone pile.

An hour after striking our tents near Elim, we advanced into the mountains, with Gebel Hummam on our right, and Gebel Wutah on our left. The direct road to Sinai bears to the left along Wady Humr, while, turning short to the right, Wady Tyebeh conducts to the sea in one hour and forty minutes, through a gorge but little less wild and impressive than that of Tiah Beni Israel. Upon departing from Elim, the Israelites "encamped by the Red Sea," and of course passed through Wady Tyebeh, for there is no other passage to the sea. Desirous of following them, we descended to the coast, and issuing suddenly from the deep, dark gorge, the gloomy and rugged mountains of Africa appeared walling in the gulf on the opposite side, while to our left lay a narrow, gravelly plain, extending along the coast one hour and twenty minutes, where the mountains on the left crossed it, and projected themselves into the water. Our Arabs were in haste to reach this point before the tide should come in and cut off our passage. They barely succeeded, for there was four feet water when we arrived. Tualeb laid aside his red robe, tucked up his coarse cotton shirt to his armpits, as did his men, and, each man plunging into the sea, led his camel through from four to five feet water. The

young beasts eagerly thrust their mouths deep into the briny flood, and then bit their lips for very disappointment. The old French physician kept on his camel, but we dismounted, and attempted to clamber along the face of the cliffs. The sea rushed into the mouth of a cavern which opened upon our path, and, attempting to leap over it, Mr. S. fell into the sea, and then benevolently carried Mr. D. over on his back. When Mr. C. and myself came up to the chasm, we hesitated whether to leap on the backs of the camels which were plunging by, their broad feet falling on the water like flat stones, or on the backs of our trusty Arabs. These being nearest, we sprang on their brawny shoulders, and were borne over. There were three of these headlands with intervening coves, and we were forty-five minutes in doubling them, when we issued upon a large plain, surrounded on all sides by mountains, except the west, where it is bounded by the sea. This Dr. Robinson rightly regards as the "wilderness of Sin," where the people first felt pinching hunger, having consumed the provisions which they had brought out of Egypt. Here, in this steril, desolate plain, "the whole congregation murmured against Moses and Aaron," and longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt; and here God rained "bread from heaven" for the people.

From this plain the Israelites penetrated the mountains in a southeast direction, probably through Wady Shellal, which leads by Wady Mukatteb into Wady Feiran, and thence by Gebel Serbal, through Wady esh-Sheikh, to Horeb. After travelling up Wady Shellal about an hour, we encamped in the very centre of the kingdom of desolation. The whole region seemed as if it had formerly been much higher, and by the influence of the elements and time, had crumbled and spread

the ruins over the heights, down the flanks of the mountains, and far into the wadys. The solitude which reigned around was oppressive.

Upon leaving the sea, we fairly entered the granite group of the mountains of Sinai, which, taken together, form the "wilderness of Sinai." The outer mountains are the highest; and as we penetrated to the central group of Horeb, shut up within the bosom of this stern, desolate world, we felt indeed that we were entering into the secret places of the Almighty. Awe and reverence took possession of us, as anciently of the countless pilgrims who have left their memorials engraven on the eternal rocks in every wady west of Sinai, and in a language now as unintelligible to the world as the hieroglyphics of Egypt. Wady Mukatteb, or the *Written Valley*, is a vast repository of these inscriptions, engraved on the perpendicular faces of the cliffs and detached rocks. The traveller gazes on them with pleasure and regret: they are evidences of the reverence in which this mountain wilderness has been held from time immemorial, and yet they refuse to reveal their secrets. They cluster around Gebel Serbal, and cover its rugged peaks, while not a single one is found on Gebel Mousa in Horeb, thus raising the probability that Serbal was once regarded with profound veneration, if not as the Horeb of Scripture. The inscriptions are short, being simply the name, as is supposed, with an additional word, indicating, perhaps, some distinction of the writer. And although there are some inscriptions among the mountains which are evidently Egyptian, and very rarely a Greek or Latin one is found, yet the frequent appearance of the cross is conclusive that they are the memorials of Christians. But whence and when, who can tell? The following statements of Dr. Robinson

will afford the most accurate information that can yet be obtained in regard to them.

"SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS. — These inscriptions are mentioned first by Cosmas, and then by several of the early travellers, as Neitzschitz, p. 149; Monconys, vol. i., p. 245; also by Pococke, vol. i., p. 148, fol., and Niebuhr in his *Reisebeschr.*, vol. i., p. 250. Professed copies of some of them are given by Kircher, in his *Prodromus Coptus*, and also by Pococke and Niebuhr, but they are very imperfect. Those of Seetzen are better; and some of those made by Burckhardt seemed, on a comparison with the originals, to be tolerably accurate. A large number of them have been copied and published by Mr. Grey, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. iii., Pt. i., Lond., 1832, consisting of one hundred and seventy-seven in the unknown character, nine in Greek, and one in Latin.

"The remarks of Gesenius upon the Sinaitic inscriptions are found in a note to the German edition of Burckhardt's *Travels, Reisen in Syrien, etc.*, Weimar, 1824, p. 1071.

"The inscriptions have been first deciphered only within the present year (1839), by Professor Beer, of the University of Leipzig. This distinguished palæographer had already occupied himself with them so long ago as A.D. 1833, but without success. See his tract entitled *Inscriptiones et Papyri veteres Semitici quotquot, etc.*, Partic. i., 4to, Lips., 1833. In the winter of 1838–9, his attention was again turned to the inscriptions, in connexion, perhaps, with our reports, and the residence of my companion for a time in Leipzig; and, after several months of the most persevering and painful application, he succeeded in making out the alphabet, and was enabled to read all the inscriptions which have been copied with any good degree of accuracy. The results at which he has arrived are already prepared for publication, and the various tables engraved, so that his work may not improbably appear before these sheets leave the press.

"By the kind permission of Professor Beer, I am able to give here a summary of these results. I ought, perhaps, to remark, that all those palæographers to whom they have been communicated are satisfied of their correctness; and that especially some of the most distinguished have expressed to me, in conversation, their decided approbation of Beer's labours and views.

"The *characters* of the Sinaitic inscriptions Professor Beer finds to belong to a distinct and independent alphabet. Some of the letters are wholly peculiar, the others have more or less affinity with the Palmyrene, and particularly with the Estrangelo and Cufic. Indeed, their affinity with the latter is so great as to lead to the supposition that the Cufic was afterward developed from this alphabet. They are written from right to left. In their form, several of the letters much resemble each other, as is the case in other ancient alphabets. This sometimes creates considerable difficulty in deciphering an inscription, though not more than in the Cufic. But the difficulty is here increased by the negligence of the copyists, who have often not noticed the slight difference that actually exists. This is apparent from the different copies of the same inscription which exist in several instances.

"The *contents* of the inscriptions, so far as Professor Beer has yet proceeded, consist only of proper names, preceded by a word which is usually שלם *peace*, but sometimes רכיר *memoratus sit*, and in a very few cases בריך *blessed*. Between the names, the word כר or כן *son*, often occurs; and they are sometimes followed by one or two words at the end; thus the word כהן *priest* occurs twice as a title. In one or two instances the name is followed by a phrase or sentence which has not yet been deciphered. The names are those common in Arabic, but have this peculiarity, that most of those which are single end in a Vau (ו), whether they are in the nominative or genitive case, while the compound names end in Jod (י). Thus we have עמרו, אוש אלהי, עבד אלחי; אלמבקרו, כלבו, אישו, עורו, זירו, עבד אלבעלי. The Arabic article is frequent in the names, but has not always the Aleph (א) when in composition. It is a remarkable fact, that not one Jewish or Christian name has yet been found. The words which are not proper names seem rather to belong to an Aramæan dialect. A language of this kind Professor Beer supposes to have been spoken by the inhabitants of Arabia Petræa—in other words, by the Nabathæans, before the present Arabic language spread itself over those parts; and of that language and writing, these inscriptions he regards as the only monuments now known to exist.

"The question as to the *writers* of the inscriptions receives very little light from their contents. A word at the end of some of them may be so read as to affirm that they were *pilgrims*; and this opinion Beer also adopts. But this reading is not certain; and the opinion is to be supported chiefly from the fact that the inscriptions are found only on the great routes leading from Suez to Mount Sinai. The multitude of them in Wady Mukatteb, and around Serbal, may be accounted for by supposing that mountain, or some spot in its vicinity, to have been regarded as a holy place, though probably not as Sinai. That the writers were *Christians* seems apparent from the crosses connected with many of the inscriptions. The same inscription is, in several instances, found in more than one place, once with the cross, and again without it. The crosses are of such a shape that they could not be accidental nor unmeaning, e. g., Y, †, ‡.

"The *age*, also, of the inscriptions receives no light from their contents, as no date has yet been read. On palæographic grounds, Professor Beer supposes the greater part of them could not have been written earlier than the fourth century. Had they been written later, some tradition respecting them would probably have existed in the time of Cosmas. The character of the writing also forbids this supposition.

"Thus far Professor Beer, and thus far all is sufficiently clear. But there still remain some historical points of difficult solution. These Christian pilgrims, who were they? and whence did they come? The fact that all the inscriptions are found only on the great routes from Egypt, would seem to imply that they came from that country, or at least from the western side of the Gulf of Suez. But if so, how comes it that not a trace of this alphabet and language is found in Egypt or its vicinity? Egypt too, we know, was

full of Jews and Christians in the early centuries; how comes it, then, that no Jewish nor Christian names are found among the inscriptions? It is true that the heathen proper names continued to be used long after the introduction of Christianity, as we see from the names of the early fathers and bishops; but this will not account for the entire absence of Christian and Jewish names among such hosts of pilgrims coming from Egypt.

"On the other hand, were these pilgrims Nabathæans, Ishmaelites, Saracens, the native inhabitants of the peninsula and of Arabia Petræa in general? The heathen names, and the language and writing, would lead to this conclusion. But, then, how comes it that all the inscriptions are on the western side of the peninsula, and not one upon the eastern? Besides, there is no historical evidence that any *native* Christian population existed in or around the peninsula in the early centuries, but rather the contrary. The Christian exiles from Egypt, and the hermits of these mountains, lived in constant exposure to slavery or death from the heathen around them.

"Again, how comes it that in the time of Cosmas, about A.D. 530, all knowledge of this alphabet and language had already perished among the Christians of the peninsula, and no tradition remained respecting the inscriptions?

"In the Travels of Irby and Mangles a fact is mentioned which deserves farther examination from travellers. In the vicinity of Wady Mousa, on the left-hand side of the track leading to the village of Dibdiba on the north, this party found, upon a tomb with a large front and four attached columns, an oblong tablet containing an inscription 'in five long lines, and, immediately underneath, a single figure on a large scale, probably the date.' They describe the letters as 'well cut, and in a wonderful state of preservation, owing to the shelter which they receive from the projection of cornices and an eastern aspect. None of the party had ever seen these characters before, excepting Mr. Bankes, who, upon comparing them, found them to be exactly similar to those which he had seen scratched on the rocks in the Wady Mukatteb, and about the foot of Mount Sinai.' This inscription they copied, but it has never been made public, and still lies in the portfolios of Mr. Bankes. See Travels of Irby and Mangles, p. 411, 412, 413.

"When we were at Wady Mousa, I was not aware of the position of this inscription, and the circumstances in which we were there placed prevented our finding it.

"In Cairo I was told that similar inscriptions exist in the immense ancient quarries back of Tura, just above Cairo, and also in the granite quarries of Aswan. It was said, also, that they had been copied by travellers, but nothing of the kind has ever been made public."—*Robinson and Smith's Biblical Researches in Palestine, &c., in the year 1838.*

CHAPTER XIII.

WILDERNESS OF SINAI.

Appeal to my Ambition.—Offer of a Young Wife.—A Dinner spoiled for Tualeb.—Wady Feiran.—Gebel Serbal.—Oasis in the Desert.—An Arab Village.—Making Acquaintances.—Stone Huts.—A Deserted City.—Feiran.—A Retired Cemetery.—Ruins of the Episcopal Church of Feiran.—Tualeb at Home.—Singular aluminous Deposit.—Was Serbal the Sinai of Scripture?—An Apollo in the Desert.—Pass of El-Deir.—First Sight of Mount Sinai.—Vale of Jethro.—Arrival at the Convent.—Reception.

I HAD fallen into a revery, from which I was roused by an earnest conversation between Tualeb and Materh, accompanied with such action as showed that I was the subject of it. Calling Said to me, I learned that they proposed to make me chief sheikh, if I would come and dwell among them, and Tualeb was to give me his daughter Ghebeleyeh for a wife, adding, as a recommendation, that she was just twelve years old, the right age for a wife in his country. It was a question with me how far an invitation given to the sheikhs to dine with us on that day had led to these proposals. I was surprised, however, in the evening, when dinner was announced, that they did not appear. George, our Greek cook, not having much disposition to serve *them*, had thrown a little piece of swine's flesh into the pot in the presence of Tualeb, who was looking complacently into the caldron, watching the white rice and fine beef's tongue leaping about in the boiling water. He turned away in sorrow; but amends were made him by coffee and tobacco after dinner.

On Friday morning, as our caravan moved up Wady Feiran, the summits of Gebel Serbal seemed to impend over us. The wady occasionally contracted, and then expanded into plains very much larger and more level

than the plain before Horeb. Groves of seyal-trees occasionally appeared, on some of which were suspended the garments and blankets of the Arabs, who were away in the mountains with their flocks. They feared no loss : the climate is too beneficent to injure, and the Arab is too honest to plunder his fellow with whom he is in league. As we advanced we found piles of drift-wood, among which were large trunks of palm, brought down in the rainy season from the groves of Feiran. The mountains increased in height, ruggedness, and gloom ; but above them all Serbal loomed up with overpowering grandeur, and attracted our constant attention. Suddenly the wady made a short bend, and lo ! groves, gardens, and water burst upon our view. We had not been prepared for such a scene in such a place, and it is impossible to describe the emotions it produced. The camels, in their eagerness, thrust their noses to the bottom of the stream ; the Arabs knelt down, and drank or lifted the sparkling water to their mouths, and then walked in it with great delight, laving their feet and legs.

Descending from my camel, and taking Suliman with me, I rambled through the little hamlets of mud and stone huts imbosomed in palm groves. In the course of our walk we startled one lone pigeon. The Arabs dwell here in date-time, but when we passed they were away with their flocks. In a retired spot I observed a coarse black tent, with one side open, and a little court enclosed with brushwood. As I approached, the dog barked, and, instead of inspiring fear, it recalled the image of home : a tawny Arab mother, with a very black babe in her arms, came forth, holding the corner of her garment over her face, but exhibiting a luxuriant head of hair, a pretty hand, and sparkling eyes. I broke my piece of bread, advanced, and offered one portion to the child,

and another to herself. She shrunk a little at the presence of a Frank ; but, endeavouring to reassure her by my attention to her babe, I took the occasion to examine the full knot of coarse black hair which was gathered tightly and bound on her forehead, and ornamented with small gay beads. I confess my stay at the tent was shortened by the recollection that her master might suddenly return ; and I thought that although Suliman, his brother Arab, was with me (and showed a little impatient apprehension also), he might not choose to look very complacently upon the presence of a Frank at his tent.

High up the mountain sides were many detached buildings of stone, perhaps thirty feet square, and from ten to twenty feet high on the lower sides. I examined several of them, and found that they contained no rooms, but were constructed of successive stories or floors of stone, with four or five equal and parallel passages, perhaps three and a half feet high, and two and a half wide, running entirely through the structure, and opening on each side. Where the lowest range runs north and south, the next runs east and west, and so on successively. These singular structures appear at a distance to be solid square masses, with small openings on each side. On the summit of the mountains were occasionally seen remnants of stone walls, and groups of small ruined buildings. At the bases and in the cliffs were many small openings cut in the rock, as if for cells for holy men. Everywhere around were traces of a numerous and peculiar population.

I had lost sight of the camels, which had advanced and halted in a palm grove. Hastening to overtake them, I came suddenly upon an insulated rocky plateau, lying on the south side of the valley, perhaps a mile in

circumference, of irregular height, and precipitous on two sides; and perceiving some ruined walls, I ascended, and found myself in the midst of a deserted city. It was the episcopal city of Feiran, the metropolis of the peninsula of Sinai. On the brow of the hill stood the walls of the venerable church, whose portico had fallen down the precipice. I sat down upon its prostrate columns, and looking upon the silent palm-groves, and the group of our wild Bedouins, thought of the past, when the city resounded with the worship of God, and the mountains teemed with holy men. The date of the place has been assigned to the fifth century; and the city became desolate towards the twelfth, chiefly by the increasing hostility of the Mohammedan Arabs, but partly by the attraction of the convent at Sinai, which offered security to the inhabitants.*

On the flank of the mountain north of the city is the largest collection of Arab dwellings to be found in the valley. They are built of the ruins of the city, exhibiting frequently blocks of hewn stone and fragments of fine marble, and are generally one story, with exceedingly small doors, and no windows. Most of the inhabitants were absent, and their doors were fastened by rude locks, and sealed with mud. All is safe. While I clambered over and around their rude habitations (for there are no streets or lanes), our Bedouins bought a peck of corn and a little wild honey for themselves, and we a small goatskin full of dates. They were the best I had ever tasted.

* The fortunes of the city may be read in its remains, which indicate neither architectural taste nor wealth. The last walls were reconstructed from the materials of former ones. They are about five feet thick, in some places a few feet high, in others as much as thirty, including the precipice on which they stand. Their exterior face is of roughly-dressed stone, laid without mortar, and the interior filled in with rubble. The superstructure of the buildings was probably of sun-dried brick, as are the walls of the church.

Departing from Feiran, and ascending the valley along the south side, amid palm-groves imbosomed in the rugged mountains, we came suddenly upon a retired cemetery. At the head and foot of one of the graves stood the upper halves of two beautiful little marble columns. These, then, were the ornaments of a Christian temple, marking the tomb of a Moslem. I did not doubt but that I took hold of a part of the high altar of the episcopal church of Feiran when I seized the smallest of the columns, and plucking it up, was in the act of depositing it before Said on his sturdy camel, when the Arabs interfered, and insisted it should be replaced at the grave of a Moslem and a sheikh. Of course I obeyed.

Tualeb claimed a portion of the palm-groves through which we passed, but I know not that his claim ought to be allowed. Yet we had repeated evidence that he was among his people, some of whom we met occasionally on the road, whom he saluted warmly by striking their hands twice, and exclaiming *Salamah*, at the same time putting the right hand to the breast. I generally made the salutation too, and it was taken very kindly.

For several hours after leaving the city of Feiran, we saw, at intervals, a very remarkable phenomenon. On each side of the valley, in the coves and in the mouths of ravines, and on the lower sides of projecting masses, were regular deposits of yellow clay, mixed with sand, from fifty to sixty feet in thickness, resting on the flanks of the mountains. They correspond exactly in thickness on opposite sides of the valley, thus proving incontestably that the valley-level was once at the summit of these formations, which must have filled it. The Arabs had hollowed out dwellings in the clay banks. But whence this aluminous deposit? Was the

whole country once covered with soil, which has given place to sand, resulting from the disintegration of the mountains, and the finer portions of which, being transported by the winds, have overwhelmed Idumea and her thousand towns? There are no mountains in the vicinity, the debris of which could produce these aluminous deposits.

Close under Serbal, on the nortneast, Wady Sheikh meets Wady Feiran, and from the same point the broadest plain we had yet seen opened to the southeast, surrounded by mountains. It is larger than Wady er Rahah before Horeb, and is in full view of Serbal, whose thunder-splintered pinnacles shot up high above the surrounding mountains, and were enveloped in a thin vapour, which grew denser as the sun descended. The upper portions of the vapour became a dark, portentous cloud, with rents in it, through which the streams of light fell in magnificent floods directly upon the mountain summits. The most sedate judgment and staid imagination could have required nothing more than the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the smoke, to complete the awful description of Sinai at the giving of the Law. If our visit had been in the age of Helena, and we had been the first in search of Sinai, Serbal would have been our Horeb. Indeed, when we consider the large valleys of Wady Feiran on the north, the extensive plain on the northeast, all in full view of Serbal, and over which its summits seem to impend; the ruins of convents on its flanks, the mysterious inscriptions on its heights, and the vicinity of the episcopal city of Feiran, it is almost impossible not to ask, with Burckhardt, May not this have been the Mount Sinai of the first centuries, when a large Christian population inhabited the peninsula? To this there are two objections, the

last of which seems to be conclusive. The first is, that very early and quite authentic tradition has fixed on the present Horeb; the second, that the flanks of Serbal are so encumbered and shut in by subordinate mountains that it is difficult for a single person to get very near it, and impossible for a multitude to approach nearer than four or five miles. And yet one of the characteristic circumstances in the giving of the Law was, that Horeb was so accessible to the people that Moses was directed to "set bounds about the mount, lest the people should touch it."—Exod., xix. That Serbal was sacred in the eyes of antiquity cannot be doubted, but on what account is a mystery which the reading of the Sinaitic inscriptions may yet unravel.

As we pitched our tents for the last time in the shadow of Serbal, at the junction of Wady Feiran and Wady Sheikh, an Arab, with a form of the finest proportions, came forward and respectfully saluted Tualeb. His full, loose garment hung gracefully around his person, and his finger was adorned with a ring. He was a nephew of our old chief, a rich young Arab, in prospect of a sheikhship. His mixed herd of sheep and goats was browsing forward on the opposite side of the valley. I was surprised to see him assist in pitching our tents, but quickly learned that his flock was to furnish the roasted kids for a feast that night, to which Tualeb, Materh, and one or two others of our party were invited. We gave them permission to attend the feast on condition that they would return at daybreak, which they did. As the young Bedouin prince led away his friends, one of my young companions exclaimed, Behold the Belvidere Apollo! The symmetry and grace of that fair and independent son of the Desert will long live in my memory.

We had followed the Israelites from the Nile to the

junction of Wady Feiran with Wady Sheikh. They passed through the latter, sweeping round northeast to Horeb. We turned to the right, through Wady Solaf, directly to the foot of the mountain pass called Nukb el-Deir, or Pass to the Convent. For two hours we ascended this wild, narrow pass, enclosed between stupendous granite cliffs, whose debris encumbered the defile, often rendering the passage difficult and dangerous. Escaping from the pass, we crossed the head of a basin-like plain which declined to the southwest, and, ascending gradually, gloomy, precipitous mountain masses rose to view on either hand, with detached snow-beds lying in their clefts. The caravan moved slowly, and apparently with a more solemn, measured tread; the Bedouins became serious and silent, and looked steadily before them, as if to catch the first glimpse of some revered object. The space before us gradually expanded, when, suddenly, Tualeb, pointing to a black, perpendicular cliff, whose two riven and rugged summits rose some 1200 or 1500 feet directly in front of us, exclaimed, *Gebel Mousa*. How shall I describe the effect of that announcement? Not a word was spoken by Moslem or Christian, but slowly and silently we advanced into the still expanding plain, our eyes immovably fixed on the frowning precipices of the stern and desolate mountain. We were doubtless on the plain where Israel encamped at the giving of the Law, and that grand and gloomy height before us was Sinai, on which God descended in fire, and the whole mountain was enveloped in smoke, and shook under the tread of the Almighty, while his presence was proclaimed by the long, loud peals of repeated thunder, above which the blast of the trumpet was heard waxing louder and louder, and reverberating amid the stern and gloomy mountain

heights around, and then God spake with Moses : “ And all the people removed and stood afar off, and trembled when they saw the thunderings, and lightnings, and thick darkness where God was ; and said unto Moses, Speak thou with us ; but let not God speak with us, lest we die.”—(Exod., xx.) We all seemed to ourselves to be present at this terrible scene, and would have marched directly up to the Mount of God, had not Tualleb recalled us to ourselves again by pointing to the convent far up in the deep ravine between Horeb and Gebel Deir.

As we entered the gorge of the convent, a cross stood on a small hill to our left, and a Bedouin cemetery lay on the right, in the deep shadows of Horeb. Looking aloft, we saw small crosses crowning the naked and apparently inaccessible mountain peaks, and seemingly connected with the sky. From these our eyes fell upon the fortress-like walls and complicated buildings of the convent, together with its small grove of fruit and cypress-trees. We were in Wady Shueib, or *Vale of Jethro*, where Moses beheld the “ burning bush.” In a few minutes we halted under the walls of the convent, and, looking up to the only entrance, thirty feet from the ground, we saw the long, venerable beard and fine face of the reverend superior, who, having received our letter, sent forward by one of the Bedouins several days before, looked down upon us benignantly, and said, “ *Welcome ! the house is yours.*” The rope was let down to us by a windlass, and we were hoisted up, pulled in and embraced, but not *kissed*, by the venerable prior. Our luggage and servants followed. Our Arabs, having received permission to kill the fatted kids and make a feast for themselves at our expense, departed to their people in the mountains, and we retired to the porch,

where we were served with coffee, and in an hour or so with salt fish and rice for dinner. We dined alone, attended and served by a small, sprightly old monk some eighty years of age. After dinner we took possession of two small rooms with well-worn carpets, and low divans running round three sides of each. It was night. I lay down to sleep, and wait for the breaking of the blessed Sabbath morning of February 5, 1843, when I hoped to worship in Sinai, not under the stern requisition, "Do this, and thou shalt live," but under the merciful dispensation which proclaims, "Jesus hath died, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God."

SINAI

from

Dr. E. Robinson's Map.

Gebel el-Furcia
(Plateau)

Tomb of Sheikh
Salih

Pass Nubb Havy

Wady esh-Sheikh

Plain Wady er-Rahah

Gebel ed-Deir

Wady Convent

Shueib

SINAI

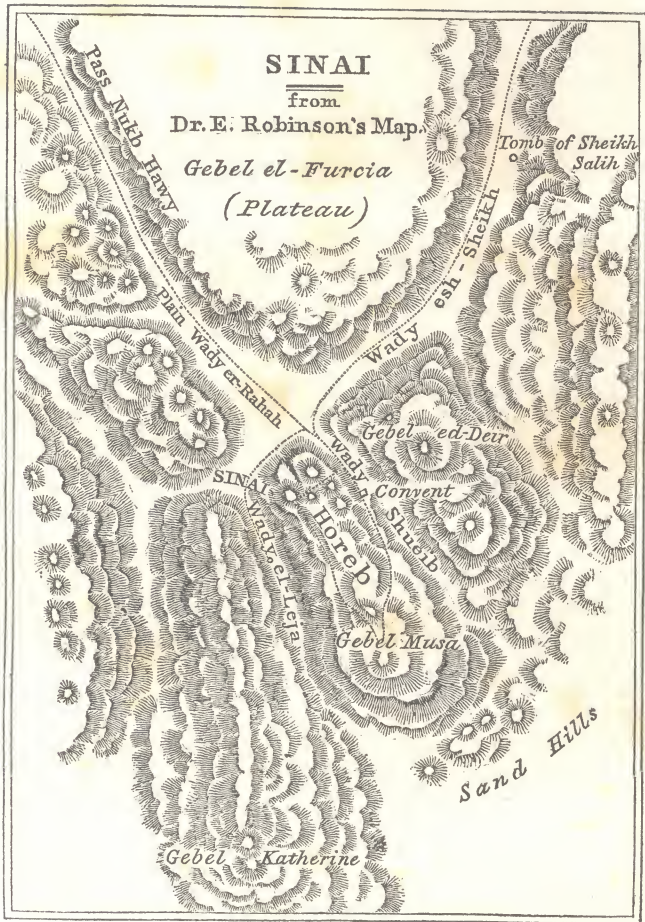
Wady el-Leja

Horeb

Gebel Musa

Sand Hills

Gebel Katherine





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CHAPTER XIV.

MOUNT SINAI.

Convent of St. Catharine.—Sunrise.—Church of Justinian.—Greek Service in the Church.—The Sanctuary.—Chapel of the Burning Bush.—The Cemetery.—Gebel Mousa.—Ascent of the Mountain.—Monkish Legends.—Chapel of the Virgin.—Spring of Elijah.—Mohammed's Camel-track.—Gebel Mousa *not* the Sinai of Scripture.—Grounds of this Conclusion.—Ascent of Suksafeh.—The *True* Sinai.

THE Convent of St. Catharine lies, as may be perceived from the accompanying plate, in a very narrow valley, a prolongation of Wady er-Rahah. Indeed, the eastern mountain approaches to within sixty feet of the walls, while the building itself stands partly on the base of the western. The edifice is an irregular quadrangle, some 230 feet in breadth and 260 in length. The walls are strongly built of granite, and flanked by towers. The entrance to the building is a small window, as I have said, some thirty feet from the ground: the great door has been walled up for a long period. There is a garden gate, however, by which ladies are admitted, and which affords egress, also, to the inmates of the building by day. Within the quadrangle are contained the great church, a number of small chapels, and several courtyards laid out in beds of flowers, &c. Fronting on these yards are the chambers of the monks, some two hundred in number, built against the walls of the quadrangle.

As I issued from my chamber door on Sunday morning (February 5th, 1843), the sun was just rising over a low hill that closes the head of the gorge in which the convent stands. His full splendour was soon thrown

upon the desolate hills around me. As Divine service was performed at an early hour, I took a hasty breakfast and descended to the church. It is strongly built, but not very large, though, on the whole, from its proportions and decorations, quite an imposing structure. It was built by Justinian, in the sixth century, but has been frequently repaired. It is divided into nave and aisles by two rows of plastered granite columns, which are surmounted with capitals of various designs. Along the aisles are ranges of wooden stalls, in which the monks stand and worship. The pavement is of marble, in various colours. The walls are hung with old paintings, none of them of any value. The ceiling is flat, painted green, and studded with golden stars; and many lamps, apparently of gold and silver, are suspended around the altar, and in other parts of the church. The altar, where the mass is performed, is enclosed by a screen, with three openings, of which the centre one is closed at bottom with gilded doors, and above by a soiled curtain.

The service was long and tedious. In the first place, the Bible, preceded by two lighted tapers, was carried round the church, and all the worshippers bowed as it passed. Then came a priest, bearing the Host in like manner. He carried the chalice in his right hand, and the bread in a gilded urn on his head, supported by his left hand. The urn was surmounted by a cross adorned with precious stones—the ruby, the emerald, and the sapphire. All knelt and crossed themselves. Our aged French companion bowed reverently to the Host, and, indeed, joined very devoutly in the whole worship, although he had received a very repulsive answer from the orthodox Greeks to a meek inquiry which he put before the service as to its *catholicity*. In a few min-

utes after the procession of the Host, the officiating priest appeared at the door of the sanctuary, bearing in his hands a large golden chalice, containing the sacred elements in both kinds. None partook of the sacrament. The service closed with a sort of primitive love-feast : a plate of bread was handed round by the priest, and all that were present partook. On retiring, most of the monks kissed a much-worn picture which lay on a small canopied stand.

On a subsequent day, the venerable superior took us into the sanctuary. Over the altar is a mosaic picture of the Transfiguration, a copy of which may be found in Laborde's Travels. The pretended relics of St. Catharine are kept here in a box, which was exhibited to us with much formality : but the most sacred place about the whole mountain, in the estimation of the monks, is a chapel behind the altar, covering the identical spot on which the Burning Bush flamed before Moses ! As it was holy ground, we had to put off our shoes at the door of the chapel. It is adorned with rich lamps and other offerings of pious pilgrims, and the precise spot where the bush is reported to have stood, a space of three feet by two, is covered with silver plates. We were then taken to the cemetery of the convent, which consists of two stone vaults, partly under ground, in the middle of the garden. A little air and light is admitted from above by an iron grating. One vault is occupied with two rows of bones and skulls, regularly piled up as in the catacombs of Paris. These are the remains of the priests and lay-brethren of the convent. Along the sides of the vault are boxes containing the crumbling bones of dignitaries of the Church and princely pilgrims. The plebeian dead lie in an indiscriminate heap at the other extremity of the vaults. It was a revolting,

and by no means profitable spectacle. The vaults were filled with incense at the time of our visit.

So much, then, for the convent, the centre of observation for all travellers to Sinai. For ages it has been so. The Mount of Moses, or Gebel Mousa, in its immediate neighbourhood, has long been regarded as the real Sinai of the Old Testament, and, indeed, the monks and many others still so regard it. Before our departure from home, I had been tolerably well convinced, by the clear statements and able arguments of Dr. Robinson, that here, as elsewhere, the monkish traditions are very doubtful guides. It will be seen from what follows that my own observations satisfied me still farther of the justice of that eminent traveller's conclusions.

Our first object was to visit Gebel Mousa, and compare its position with the statements of Scripture. Taking with us a young monk, an old Moslem, Mohammed, and a young and active one, Abdallah, as guides, and George for interpreter, we set off, after an early breakfast. Four or five half-naked Arab boys followed us. The way was toilsome and difficult. Of course, our monk guide stopped us at all the sacred localities, and gave us the legends which ages of credulity have accumulated respecting them. The first is a fine fountain that bubbles up from beneath a huge rock of granite. I will not detain my reader to repeat the legend. In twenty minutes more we reached the Chapel of the Virgin, now almost in ruins. Two small old pictures still keep their places. I was more interested by some fragments of columns, and slabs of white marble built into the granite wall, than by the legend of the fleas, which our monk gave us with great gusto. It was the old story, that the monks had once upon a time determined to abandon the convent because of the abundance

of fleas and the scarcity of pilgrims, but were dissuaded from their purpose by the Virgin, who appeared to them at this spot, and gave them comfortable assurances of plenty of pilgrims, death to the fleas, and exemption from the plague. The promise has been pretty well kept as to the plague and pilgrims, but as to the fleas, it has probably been forgotten. Passing through two small gateways at some distance apart, erected in former days, and at which priests were stationed to confess pilgrims, we came to the lone cypress-tree which shades the spring from which, according to the tradition, Elijah drank during his abode in the wilderness. Two hundred yards to the left stands a chapel, covering, as the monks say, the cleft of the rock in which the holy prophet dwelt. From this point the ascent becomes still more rugged and difficult. About thirty minutes farther on is shown the track of Mohammed's camel in the rock. A ring of small stones is thrown together, some ten inches high, and in the midst of them is a perfectly accurate impression of a camel's foot. Our monk informed us that it was made by the monastery for effect upon the Arabs, to confirm the story of the ascent of the Prophet to the top of the mountain to worship there. The story has taken effect, and the Arabs dependent on the monastery regard the mount and the convent with profound reverence. In half an hour more we reached the summit, and sat down on the foundation of what was formerly a large church, which was replaced by a small chapel, itself now in ruins.

I agree fully with the view first presented, I believe, by Hales, and lately adopted by Dr. Robinson, which regards "Horeb" as a general name for this whole group of mountains, and "Sinai" as an appropriation to a particular summit. This distinction accords fully

with the Scriptural account, and relieves it also of much ambiguity. Of the Horeb group, then, Gebel Mousa is the highest summit. For this reason, perhaps, more than any other, it was so long regarded as the real Sinai. As we stood upon its loftiest pinnacle, we looked round anxiously for any plain where Israel's millions might have encamped, in such a position as to *see the mount on fire*, and to be able to "*draw near unto the mount and touch it*;" and this, too, so easily, that "bounds" had to be "placed" about the mount, lest they should "touch it, and many of them perish." But we looked in vain. No such plain, and, indeed, *no* plain, nor any level space, was in view. On the northeast lay Gebel el-Dier, divided from Horeb by the rugged ravine in which the convent is situated; on the southwest, Gebel Humr, by the narrow gorge of Wady Leja; while on the southeast, just under the precipitous cliffs of the Mountain of Moses, are vast, naked gravel-hills, the remains of higher mountains, worn down by disintegration, but no plain, nor even tolerably open ravine. On the northwest, nothing appeared but a world of mountains. After a careful scrutiny of the whole field of vision, we were fully convinced that there was no place adjoining Gebel Mousa, or even near it, in this part of the Horeb group, where the Israelites could possibly have encamped and *seen* the giving of the Law, under the conditions of the narrative in the Pentateuch.

It appeared strange to us that men should ever have deemed this the place where the Law was given. We could hardly believe, on looking at the localities, that we should ourselves have deemed it so, even if we had not been prepared to doubt by the arguments of Lord Lindsay and Dr. Robinson. In this, as in other things, how-

ever, it is probable that we found our course of observation much facilitated by the fact that others had gone before us. After Columbus broke the egg, it was easy for any one to perform his feat.

Others had suggested the plain of El-Rahah as the place of the encampment of the Israelites, but none before Dr. Robinson, so far as I know, had fixed upon the summit of Suksafeh (which is now generally regarded as the Sinai of the Scriptures) as the real scene of the Divine manifestation to Moses. Satisfied with his arguments, we determined to make the ascent of Suksafeh, though our companions, both Arab and monkish, tried to dissuade us from it. Our monk told us the story of the battle with the Amalekites on the sandhills southeast of Gebel Mousa, and showed us the stone where, according to tradition, Moses sat when Aaron and Hur held up his hands, but it was all in vain. They have placed nearly all the wonders that occurred in the wanderings of Israel about this mountain—even the elevation of the brazen serpent, which took place near Kadesh, not far from the borders of Canaan.

It was three miles from our position on Gebel Mousa to the summit of Suksafeh (Sinai on the map) which overlooks the plain El-Rahah. It took us three hours, with great fatigue and some danger, to reach it. No one who has not seen them can conceive the ruggedness of these vast piles of granite rocks, rent into chasms, rounded into smooth summits, or splintered into countless peaks, all in the wildest confusion, as they appear to the eye of an observer from any of the heights. But when we did arrive at the summit of El-Suksafeh, and cast our eyes over the wide plain, we were more than repaid for all our toil. One glance was enough. We were satisfied that here, and here only, could the won-

drous displays of Sinai have been visible to the assembled host of Israel ; that here the Lord spoke with Moses ; that here was the mount that trembled and smoked in presence of its manifested Creator ! We gazed for some time in silence ; and when we spoke, it was with a reverence that even the most thoughtless of our company could not shake off. I read on the very spot, with what feelings I need not say, the passage in Exodus which relates the wonders of which this mountain was the theatre. We *felt* its truth, and could almost see the lightnings and hear the thunders, and the “ trumpet waxing loud.”

I had stood upon the Alps in the middle of July, and looked abroad upon their snowy empire ; I had stood upon the Apennines, and gazed upon the plains of beautiful Italy ; I had stood upon the Albanian Mount, and beheld the scene of the *Æneid* from the Circean promontory, over the Campagna, to the eternal city and the mountains of Tivoli ; I had sat down upon the Pyramids of Egypt, and cast my eyes over the sacred city of Heliopolis, the land of Goshen, the fields of Jewish bondage, and the ancient Memphis, where Moses and Aaron, on the part of God and his people, contended with Pharaoh and his servants, the death of whose “ firstborn of man and beast in one night ” filled the land with wailing ; but I had never set my feet on any spot from whence was visible so much stern, gloomy grandeur, heightened by the silence and solitude that reign around, but infinitely more by the awful and sacred associations of the first great revelation in form from God to man. I felt oppressed with the spirit that seemed to inhabit the holy place. I shall never sit down upon the summit of Sinai again, and look upon the silent and empty plains at its feet ; but I went down

from the mount a better man, determined so to live as to escape the terrible thunders at the last day, which once reverberated through these mountains, but have long since given way to the Gospel of peace. I could scarcely tear myself away from the hallowed summit, and wished that *I too* could linger here forty days in converse with the Lord.

VOL. I.—N

CHAPTER XV.

SINAI.

Suksafeh the True Sinai.—Tape-Measures better than Traditions.—Acknowledgments to Dr. Robinson.—Dr. Olin's independent Observations.—No Place for Doubt.—Descent from the Mountain.—Garden of the Convent.—Activity of the Arab Boys.—The Rock of Moses in Horeb.—Impressions.—Last Night in the Convent.—Departure.

I HAVE before remarked that it was Dr. Robinson's able argument that induced us to visit the peak El-Suksafeh. Now that his views have been made public, it seems hardly possible that any sane man could visit the localities and doubt the accuracy of his conclusions. I am surprised, beyond measure, that any affect still to consider Gebel Mousa the true Mount Sinai. Yet in a very recent book of Travels* the following passage occurs: "I am still inclined to believe Gebel Mousa to be the Sinai on which the law was delivered: I am not willing to have the truth of these old traditions doubted, and their scenes transplanted. I do not think there is sufficient reason to dispute so long and firmly-established a tradition; for it appeared to me that there was enough room in the valley beneath, and the entrance of the wady which diverges from it, to accommodate the large numbers who were witnesses of the delivery of the law; and I have since heard from those who actually measured the level space at the base and in sight of Gebel Mousa, that the area is greater than that which El-Rahah would afford."

As for the poetical associations that seem to have so

* A Tour in Egypt, Arabia Petrea, and the Holy Land, in 1841-2, by Rev H. P. Measor, M.A. London, 1844.

strong a hold upon this writer, I have nothing to say. How much weight such a disposition adds to his testimony is another question. He seems to be one of those men in whose eyes tradition of any kind is a sacred thing ; who close their own senses and strangle their own reason in obedience to the voice of authority, be it only ancient. Perhaps "those who have since measured the level space at the base," &c., are men of like spirit ; and if so, we may account for their singular mensuration. A tape-measure is no rule for the gentlemen of this school ; feet and inches count nothing against traditional cobwebs. Yet even tradition itself, while it fixes the sacred mount at the Sinai of the monks, has never pretended that the encampment was at its base on the south-east, but, in singular opposition to the tenour of the Scripture narrative, has placed it in the very valley El-Rahah itself.

Having expressed freely my own acknowledgments to Dr. Robinson's great work, it is proper that I should state that Dr. Olin, who visited the East in 1839-40, came to the same conclusions with Dr. Robinson in regard to the position of the true Sinai, without having known of the results obtained by the latter traveller. The same dissatisfaction with the monkish Sinai that led Dr. Robinson, as it had Lord Lindsay and others before him, to reject its claims as unfounded, was felt by Dr. Olin ; and very much the same observations and reasonings led both to fix upon Suksafeh as the true Mount of the Law. This independent judgment of two eminently sensible and wary observers confirms strongly the justice of the views which they have severally advanced. I must repeat what I have said in substance before, that I cannot but wonder that this discovery—for such it is—should have been left for Dr. Robinson

or any other, after so many travellers have visited these sacred places. One would think that no extraordinary sagacity was requisite to work out a problem, the elements of which are so completely given in the Scriptural account, and in the natural features of the spot whose localities must satisfy the conditions of that account. Our own satisfaction, on looking down from the summit of Suksafeh, was complete and perfect. There was not room for the shadow of a doubt.

At last we prepared to descend from the sacred mount. Two hours brought us to the garden wall of the convent, into which we gained access by means of a rope through a small door, some twenty feet from the ground, into the garden itself. It is not in a high state of cultivation, but yet seemed to us, in comparison with the desert world around, to be luxuriant and delightful beyond description. From the garden, a small iron door admitted us into a dark passage under the convent buildings, through which we passed into the open court. This garden entrance is the only way of access to the interior of the convent, except the window in the front wall already mentioned. These precautions were, and perhaps still are, necessary as a protection against the Arabs, none of whom are admitted within the building on any pretext.

During our long rambles on the mountains, we had many opportunities of observing the address and activity of the Arab boys. They are mountain goats in agility. They would absolutely, without putting their hands to the rocks, walk up and down precipices where we could scarcely crawl on our hands and feet, or slide down in any way. One of them, but ten years of age, carried my cloak on his shoulder all day long ; and another, still younger, named *Mit*, who measured just four

feet high, followed us perseveringly in all our rambles. Our guides took off their sandals at the most difficult places, and their feet seemed to adhere to the hard granite like flies to a ceiling. We found a good deal of snow in the clefts and deep gorges of Horeb (Feb. 5).

As good pilgrims, we felt in duty bound to visit the rock which Moses struck in Horeb to satisfy the thirsting Israelites. It is on the opposite side of the mountain from the convent, high up in Wady Leja. From the accounts of previous travellers, and my settled conviction that the legend in regard to the rock was but a fable, I had made up my mind that there could be no interest excited about it. May I tell the reader that, notwithstanding my good stock of skepticism, this stone made more impression on me than any natural object claiming to attest a miracle ever did? Had any enlightened geologist, utterly ignorant of the miracle of Moses, passed up this ravine and seen the rock as it now is, he would have declared—though the position of the stone and the present condition of the country around would have opposed any such impression—that strong and long-continued fountains of water had once poured their gurgling currents from it and over it. He could not waver in this belief for a moment, so natural and perfect were the indications. I examined it thoroughly, and if it be a forgery, I am satisfied, for my own part, that a greater than Michael Angelo designed and executed it. I cannot differ from Shaw's opinion, that "neither art nor chance could by any means be concerned in the contrivance of these holes, which formed so many fountains." The more I gazed upon the irregular mouth-like chasms in the rock, the more I found my skepticism shaken; and at last I could not help asking myself whether it was not a very natural solution of

the matter, that this was indeed the rock which Moses struck, that from it the waters “gushed forth” and poured their streams down Wady Leja to Wady esh-Sheikh, and along it to Rephidim, where Israel was encamped, perishing with thirst, while Amalek hovered over them ready to strike?

The visit to the Rock of Moses ended our rambles about the holy mountain, and we returned in the evening to take our last night’s rest in the convent. It was sweet and refreshing. The next morning we rose early to prepare for our departure. The good monks seemed loth to let us go. We were the only travellers they had seen for eight months; and perhaps, on this account, they had given us a heartier welcome and better service than some former travellers had received, judging from their accounts of the convent. At all events, we had nothing to complain of, so far as the kindness and attention of the superior and his subordinates were concerned; and we did not leave them without regret. The whole convent was astir to serve us, and by nine o’clock we were ready to depart. Cooks, guides, porters, &c., were *remembered* (as the London phrase is), and a purse made up for the superior, which caused his eyes to twinkle with joy amid all his sorrow at our separation from him for ever. The old man gave us his blessing with great solemnity; one by one we were swung off from the window-portal; camels, Arabs, and all were waiting for us, harnessed for the way, and in a few minutes we were *en route* for Akabah.

CHAPTER XVI.

SINAI TO AKABAH.

Encampment in Wady S'Al.—Tomb of Saleh.—Sprinkling of Blood upon the Door-posts.—Geological Features of the Country.—El-Ghor.—Wild Gorge.—Grove of Palms.—The Beach.—The Gulf.—Solitude of the Desert.—Arrival at Akabah.—Reception by the Governor.—Paying our Escort.—Parting with our Arabs.—The Fortress of Akabah.—Its Inhabitants.—The Vicinity.—Eloth.—Mussulmen at their Devotions.—Amusements at Akabah.

PASSING through the Wady Sheikh, we encamped at four P.M. in the narrow Wady S'Al. The day was quite cold—the 7th of February. There was much snow in the clefts and gorges of the mountains: more had fallen during the winter, we were told, than for many years before.

We had given our Arabs a goat for dinner on the day before our departure from the convent. Just after leaving it, I perceived that they had the goat along with them, and could not imagine why they had deferred their feast, until we came to the Tomb of Saleh, a spot much venerated by the Arabs, in Wady esh-Sheikh. It is a stone hut, rudely finished, and surmounted with a cone, plastered and whitewashed. Here Tualeb and his companions dismounted, and I followed them. A young Arab then seized the goat by the horns, and dragged him to the door of the hut, when Tualeb cut off his right ear, and sprinkled the door-posts with the blood of the victim. They then entered, and, putting their hands under the coarse, tattered curtain, which was intended to conceal the coffin of the Prophet, performed their devotions, and then retired. An hour after

we had encamped at night, the goat was roasting over the fire. Next morning we observed the sign of the cross made with its blood on the necks of our camels. It is probable the Bedouins of Horeb have conceived, from their intercourse with the convent, that the cross acts as a charm to defend them from danger. Towards evening we met two or three women, closely veiled in coarse blue shawls, accompanied by a man, a child, and two dogs, to guard their small flock of little black goats which browsed before them. The bark of their dogs was the only thing that reminded us of home.

The lofty and desolate granite group in the centre of which Horeb is enclosed does not extend far to the northeast. We passed its outer barriers in less than three hours from Sinai, and entered a district of basalt, trap, and grüestone, as steril and forbidding as the one we had just left. In a few hours we passed from this trap and basalt region into a sandstone district, in which the hills were lofty, but detached, and so soft that they were rapidly disintegrating into a white fine sand, which retains no trace of the traveller an hour after he passes. We encamped in this district in a deep chasm, called by the Arabs El-Ghor, or the Caldron. An hour distant to the left of our path was the Fountain of Hudherah, which Burckhardt had suggested was the Hazeroth of Scripture, the third station of Israel after leaving Horeb. With this suggestion Dr. Robinson agrees.

Striking our tents in the Ghor early on the second morning after our departure from Sinai, at noon we entered the lofty range of dark granite mountains which border the western side of the Gulf of Akabah, to which we descended through one of the wildest and most ro-

mantic chasms I have ever seen. It seems to be a transverse zigzag rent in the range, made expressly to afford a passage to the sea. The walls are perpendicular, from 300 to 500 feet high, often not twenty feet apart, and in one or two places not more than twelve or fifteen. The Bedouins have well named this pass the Little Door.* We emerged from it upon a gravelly beach sloping down to the sea a mile distant. The long, narrow strip of blue water, resplendent with the sun, lay deeply imbosomed in the gloomy precipitous mountains on the east and west. Our course was now up the gulf, nearing the water as we advanced, and in two hours our tents were pitched in the edge of a small grove of flourishing palms at the mouth of a wady. A nearly naked black Arab, the lord of the palm grove, appeared with a basket of good fish, which contributed to the luxury of our supper. While it was preparing, we laved our feet and legs in the waves which broke gently on the beach at our tent door.

We were yet two days' journey from Akabah, and the route lay along the beach, oftentimes in the edge of the water. It was interrupted but once by a high tide washing a bold precipitous promontory, which compelled us to make a detour through the mountains by passes impracticable to horses, but which our camels accomplished without a stumble. Thousands of little crabs were running over the sand, and hastening to the water at our approach. Large heaps of pearly shells lay upon the shore near the remains of fires upon which the Bedouins had roasted their contents for food.

We began to grow weary of the monotony and stillness of the Desert, as we had not, since we left the neighbourhood of the convent, either seen or heard any sign

* Dr. Robinson.

of life except the Bedouin fish-vender, two quails, and the notes of one lone warbler, that seemed to mourn as an exile in the unbroken solitudes. Near noon on the fifth day from Sinai, we were delighted to hear Tualeb exclaim *Akabah*, as he pointed towards the northeast corner of the gulf, where appeared the magnificent palm-grove, like a fringe depending from the black overhanging mountains, and dipping into the water. As we doubled the head of the gulf, we crossed the mouth of the Arabah, which was full of shrubs, upon which camels were browsing. We entered the grove of palms at three o'clock, and at four our camels knelt amid the trees under the walls of the castle. Taking Said, who was acquainted with the governor, I entered the castle with Tualeb and Materh, and found a group of some dozen men seated on a divan of rough masonry, built around the door of a dwelling, enclosing a small court. Mats were spread for us, and I took my seat by the side of a dark, keen-eyed, long-mustached Turk, who was seated on an old chair with three legs. I little dreamed that I was beside his excellency. Upon discovering my mistake, I presented a letter, which he read, and said, "There are four gentlemen." I explained the case of our French pilgrim, and in a few minutes the caravan entered the great court, and the camels were relieved of their burdens. The luggage was stowed in the strangers' room, which became our kitchen; but, taking warning from the complaints of former travellers respecting vermin in these apartments, we pitched our tents, by permission, in the open court. Hussein, the chief of the Alouins, was away in the mountains. A messenger was despatched for him, who was expected to return with him in four days.

In the evening, Tualeb and Materh, accompanied by the governor, came into the tent to receive their pay. Their men were anxious to be present, but the sheikhs refused. The money was counted in parcels and then passed to them, and when they had counted each parcel and pronounced it right, I wrote it down, and adding up the sums, found they were overpaid one and a half piastres. The sheikhs then declared before the governor that the payment was made according to the contract. I instructed Said to tell them to be sure, as when we once settled a matter we never unsettled it. They recounted their money, and expressed themselves fully satisfied, yet next morning they declared that they were forty-one and a half piastres short; but no entreaties could move us to concede the point. Perhaps this circumstance increased our buksheesh somewhat, the division of which among them created some contention, and we became arbiters, divided it, and declared that so it should stand. The sheikhs, particularly Materh, were disappointed, but the men were pleased. From this circumstance, and the unwillingness to allow the men to be present at any settlement, it might be inferred that the chiefs did not always make the apportionment with even-handed justice.

About nine o'clock next morning our trusty and obliging Tawaras were ready to depart. They came around us affectionately: the common men approached respectfully and shook hands with us; Tualeb and Materh embraced us, and the first kissed my cheek. As he took leave of my young companions, he pointed silently to heaven, and their young, responsive hearts felt the powerful suggestion. As their swarthy forms, loosely shrouded in coarse, scanty garments, emerged from the gate and disappeared in the palm-grove, we felt

that our next meeting would indeed be in another world. A sadness came over us when they were gone; for, notwithstanding their very natural eagerness for gain, we had parted with those who had faithfully watched under the open heavens around our tents night after night, while we slept without apprehension. Judging from our experience thus far, the Bedouins are improving in their conduct towards Frank travellers. Perhaps the Franks deal more kindly with the Bedouins.

We now had time to look around us. The fortress is a quadrangle perhaps two hundred and fifty feet square, having walls of hewn stone some thirty feet high, with a bastion at each angle. The gateway on the north is a lofty and imposing arch, closed by heavily-ironed doors. On each side of the portal the walls are covered with Arabic inscriptions. The pavement is overspread with the remains of the nightly watchfires, whose smoke has begrimed the vault of the arch above. Around the court is a range of one-story stone buildings, constructed against the walls, and serving for magazines and useless lumber. Their roofs are flat and plastered with clay, and serve for the floors of a range of mud apartments running all round the interior, one story high, and covered with palm-branches. The windows, both above and below, are merely openings in the walls, sometimes a little blinded by a rude lattice-work of sticks or reeds. These fragile upper huts afford dwellings for the garrison and prisons for the women. The interior is an open unpaved court, containing an inexhaustible well of good water, and affording a playground for the children, cats, chickens, goats, pigeons, and what not, which go to make up this little magazine of life in this world of desolation. The garrison consists of a governor, gunner, commissary, and captain of

the gate, together with some twenty or thirty trusty soldiers, who are usually from the upper Nile. The castle and garrison serve the double purpose of keeping the Bedouins in order, and of protecting and refreshing the annual caravans of pilgrims from Egypt and Syria.

Immediately without the gate, on the north, is a cluster of mud and stone huts of one story high, covered with palm-branches, windowless, and almost doorless too, inhabited by some two hundred Bedouins, who are dependants upon the fort. The women do not exhibit the signs of modesty peculiar to the East, for they sat at the doors unveiled, and not unfrequently half naked, and unblushingly clamoured for *buksheesh* as we passed. Occasionally a dusky maid was to be seen seated on the ground, grinding corn between two stones: this she did by dropping the corn through a hole in the centre of the upper stone, which she moved briskly on the lower one, the coarse meal falling from between the stones on a dirty cloth. Just beyond this hamlet are heaps of rubbish, such as are found in the vicinity of Cairo, and mark the site of the Elana of the Romans, the Eloth of Scripture. Close at hand, perhaps at the northwest angle of the gulf, was Ezion-geber: for in 1 Kings, ix., 26, it is said, "Ezion-geber is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom." On these plains the Israelites had encamped on their way to Canaan, and here Solomon built his fleets to trade to Ophir and Tarshish for gold, peacocks, and precious merchandise. Fleets and cities have long since disappeared. Not a fishing-boat is seen upon the beautiful expanse of water; and the caravans of pilgrims light their campfires, and the Bedouins bury their dead amid the ruins of the ancient city. A magnificent palm-grove borders the sea, imbosoming the castle, and extending

for miles above and below it. Within it also are seen occasionally a little hut, with a small garden rudely enclosed. Rambling through the grove, I found a Bedouin family domiciled under a thick clump of palm-branches springing from the roots in the sand. They were partly sheltered to windward by a ragged cotton cloth stretched behind them, under the protection of which they were preparing their dinner. The old man had a little sickly wheat in a wooden bowl, the woman had water-soaked corn in another, and their daughter, about a dozen years old, was sitting on the ground, with a hand-mill between her naked knees, grinding some oats. Upon our approach she covered her face, holding the corner of the cloth between her teeth, and continued grinding.

At sunset on the third evening of our residence in the fort, I strolled out to the shore of the gulf, and, casting my eye southward along the water's edge, saw a dozen Mussulmen ranged along the beach at intervals of perhaps twenty yards, with their faces towards Mecca, silently performing their evening devotions. They stood upright, and bowed alternately, leaving the impress of their foreheads on the clean white sand. The waves, in which they had just bathed, broke upon the strand at their feet, and the full moon smiled upon them from the heavens. Concealed among the palms, I looked upon this simple and unostentatious worship of God by the children of the Desert, and felt a wish that it might be acceptable to the common God and Father of us all.

During our residence in the castle we pursued the same course towards its inhabitants as before towards the Bedouins. We mingled with them, sat down by their watchfire under the gate, greeted them with *salamah* (peace) and a touch of the forehead when we met them, exclaimed *tieb* (well) when any little incident

pleased us, took every occasion to notice and caress their children, which is the nearest way to any peoples' heart, and occasionally, when the boys were playing ball, my young companions would join in their sport, to the infinite delight of the population, including the women, who came out in front of their huts and sat veiled, but now and then half unveiled themselves, the more fully to enjoy the skill with which the players eluded the well-aimed blow, or the merry laugh which followed a palpable hit. We bathed in the sea occasionally, and fired our pistols outside the walls at a mark. This set the men in the fort firing at the butt-end of a palm branch placed for a target on the top of one of the bastions. The distance was perhaps seventy yards, and the guns used were some of them ten feet long, with a musket bore. To their great surprise, I signified a wish to try my hand, and brought down the mark at the first shot. *Tieb, tieb—bono, bono*, resounded wild and high; while two or three of them expressed their admiration by thumping me on the back until I gasped for breath. After this exploit I was honoured with a seat beside the governor.

CHAPTER XVII.

AKABAH TO PETRA.

Return of Hussein.—Bargaining.—A Delicate Negotiation.—Conclusion.—Departure from Akabah.—Hussein the Alouin.—Valley of the Arabah.—Encampment.—Jotbath.—A Surprise.—A Mountain Tomb.—Gebel Haroun.—Tomb of Aaron.—Ascent of the Mountain.—View from the Summit.—Descent from the Mountain.—Petra.

WE had now been nearly a week in the fortress, and time began to pass heavily. Late in the afternoon, while lying in our tent, one of my young fellow-travellers was conjecturing that Hussein had heard of the English party just behind us, and was awaiting their arrival, in order to conduct us all in one caravan. Ere the expression died on his lips, Said thrust in his huge head, and exclaimed, "Hussein is come!" In a few minutes, he and his suite, together with the governor, were at the door, and having shuffled off their slippers and red boots, they entered with a grave and dignified salutation, and took their seats on our divan, made of quilts folded and laid around the tent. Knowing that we had a bargain to make under very unfavourable circumstances, we resolved to call in the aid of coffee and tobacco, and whatever else might propitiate the desert king, and incline him to have mercy on us. He drank our beverage and smoked our tobacco with great zest; and, casting a cool, calculating glance upon each of us, said he had informed the consuls at Cairo that he did not desire to conduct any more travellers through the Desert, because, if any mishap befell them, he would be blamed; adding that there was no grass for the

camels near Akabah, but as we had sent for him he had come. Then intimating that he and the governor would call in the evening, he left us. As soon as they had gone we all exclaimed *ominous*, and the stock in our purses fell fifty per cent.

Evening came, and brought the sheikh and the governor. Said was in attendance with a supply of coffee. We opened the negotiation by asking Hussein what were his terms for conveying us by Petra to Hebron. He replied that "the gentlemen had seen a paper at the consul's at Cairo, and knew the terms." But, upon being informed that we had seen no such paper, he stated its contents, and demanded a hundred dollars from each of us for protection-money, besides a hundred and sixty-eight dollars for fourteen camels for our use. To the last we made no demur, but we fought bravely and for hours against the five hundred dollars protection-money. Hussein heard us with provoking coolness, and upon our intimating that we should take some other route, he piquantly inquired, "Where are your camels?" We were obstinate, and he left us, saying he must send off the camels, but would call before he left. The governor remained behind; and although we did not know but that he might be in league with Hussein, we still thought it best to enlist him as a mediator, and commissioned him to say that we would give two hundred dollars protection-money.

In the course of half an hour the governor returned with Hussein. He had failed in his commission, and the negotiation was renewed. Towards midnight the demand for protection was reduced to two hundred and fifty dollars, including entrance and stay at Petra. We were to give the men two sheep at Wady Mousa, and two at Hebron for feasts; and, if satisfied, a robe of red,

silk, or five hundred piastres, to Sheikh Salim, who was to accompany us. The secretary of the governor wrote the contract in Arabic, seals and signatures were affixed, and the money all paid except forty-six dollars. This sum was to be given to a tribe through which we were to pass near Hebron, provided they met and took charge of us, otherwise it was to be paid at Hebron to Salim.

The scene in the fortress next morning, and the departure, formed a truly nomadic exhibition. A crowd of men with bare arms and legs crowded around the well to draw water for their camels and to fill their waterskins; black Nubian slaves crouched under the necks of their masters' richly-caparisoned dromedaries, while loaded camels stalked at will in the courtyard. Hussein and his brother Salim, dressed in full red robes, with sashes, and armed with swords and pistols, moved like princes among their Alouins, and directed the distribution of luggage and saddles. At noon, twenty camels and twenty-one men, with twelve matchlocks, as many old swords, and uncounted pistols, slowly deployed through the gate and halted on the ruins of Aila. Here we mounted, and received Hussein and Salim on horseback. The last carried a spear some fourteen feet long, ornamented near the top with two large black tufts of feathers, and armed with iron at the lower end; the first was unarmed, and advancing, made us a set speech, declaring that we were with friends and ought to be friendly, that the way was clear before us, and that his brother would not leave us until we reached Hebron; then touching his breast and forehead, he departed, and we bade adieu to Akabah.

Hussein, chief of the powerful tribe of Alouins, and the wealthiest Bedouin in the country, is now advanced in years. He is of small stature—visage thin, eye calm

and piercing, hand small and exceedingly neat, address cool and determined. He has great penetration, with an insatiable thirst for gain. His manner is easy, his elocution rapid, and his gesticulation rather graceful and often vehement. We must do the governor the justice to say that he treated us with uniform kindness, for which we gave him the expected reward, and he sent us away with his blessing.

From the head of the Elanitic Gulf, or Gulf of Akabah, a wide sandy valley runs nearly due north to the Dead Sea. It is called the Arabah, and is enclosed by a continuous range of mountains on each side: those on the east are the mountains of Edom, and are higher and broader than those on the west, which form the barrier of the Desert that extends to the Nile. Along this valley probably lay the route of Israel from Ezion-geber to Kadesh Barnea, and certainly the great highway of commerce from India and Ethiopia to the shores of the Mediterranean, from the time of Solomon to the annihilation of the Roman power. Entering this great desert valley, we advanced towards Petra five hours and encamped. At night, as is my custom, I walked some distance from the tents, and looked up into the magnificent heavens, and then upon the children of the Desert seated around their watchfires, guarding the encampment of the strangers, who were thousands of miles from homes and friends. I gazed a few minutes, and then—What an hour! what a place! what an occasion for prayer! I slept sweetly in the land of Idumea, amid the children of Edom.

We travelled three days in the Arabah with scarcely incident enough to require a paragraph. Early in the morning of the second day we passed a small Bedouin cemetery on a mound raised by the ruins of some large

building, that may have been a caravansary, or an ancient fort to guard this desert highway. Ten hours from Akabah, near the eastern mountains, was a wet, marshy plain, with much vegetation, in the bosom of which was a small pond of fresh water, of which the camels drank (Feb. 20). There were clumps of palm-trees and some mounds of rubbish in this vicinity. Here may be *Jotbath*, mentioned in Deut., x., 7, as the second station from Mount Hor after the death of Aaron. We know that Israel was then moving southward in order to go round Edom, and this place is at the right distance for their second encampment from Mount Hor. Besides, in the hyperbolical language of the East, it may be called "a land of rivers of waters," which is affirmed of *Jotbath*.

Hares were frequently started, and we enjoyed the sport of a trial of speed between them and the Bedouins. The hares generally escaped. One day we came suddenly upon fresh tracks of men and horses. Our sheikh and his party scrutinized them closely; examined the dung in their path, and pronounced that a company of predatory Arabs had passed westward the day before. Either Salim wished to magnify our danger, and of course the necessity of all travellers taking a strong escort, or he really apprehended a rencounter with a marauding party of Kerak Arabs, which do occasionally sweep along the Arabah in order to light upon some caravan from Gaza to the south, or to plunder some luckless travellers.

At noon on the third day we began to ascend to the right into the mountains towards Mount Hor, which the Arabs call Gebel Haroun, or Mount of Aaron: thus preserving the tradition of his visit and death there. Three hours after leaving the Arabah, an insulated hill of sandstone rose on our left, the lofty summit of which was

hewn into a beautiful little temple-tomb perhaps 18 by 20 feet. In one end was a small door, which opened into a plain room eight feet long, six high, and three and a half wide. It had been the mausoleum of some wealthy Idumean. A flight of steps cut in the cliff led to it. This was several hours west of Petra, and here we encamped in the mouth of a rugged gorge, which conducted to a still more rugged mountain pass that leads directly to the south side of Mount Hor.

At daylight our caravan was in motion, slowly and painfully ascending into the upper regions of this wild, desolate mountain world. Occasionally we met with the remains of massive masonry in commanding positions, marking the sites of forts which guarded this approach to Petra. Emerging suddenly from a gorge, we stood amid the summits of the subordinate mountains, with the double-peaked Gebel Haroun towering above us, bearing on his loftiest height a small white building surmounted by a dome. It was the tomb of Aaron. Hastening to the base of the mountain on the south, our camels were sent forward to Petra with the servants and tents, while each of us took a Bedouin and began to ascend. We swept round westward from south to north, crossing small green valleys, and clambering up ruined terrace walls which once supported the soil and rendered the mountain fruitful. On the north side we came to a large cistern half filled with mud, but the walls, arched roof, and even cement were still quite perfect. Near it were the fragments of a handmill. From this point the ascent was more difficult: the steps cut in the rock were in some places nearly obliterated. In a few minutes we sat down on the roof of the tomb of the Prophet, and yielded ourselves up to the powerful emotions produced by the vast and

varied events connected with the spot, and the world in full view around us. The form of the mountain rendered it certain that we were on the very spot where Moses and Aaron had stood—where they had their last interview, after which Aaron laid aside his priestly garments, and died in the presence of his brother and son. Here they buried him, and then departed with sad hearts to the camp of Israel, which lay in full view in the El-Arabah on the west. “And they went up into Mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation. And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there in the top of the mount: and Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount. And when all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead, they mourned for him thirty days, even all the house of Israel.”

Descending from the roof, we entered the open door, and found nothing in the interior but a small square tomb, perhaps four feet high, constructed of fragments of a former magnificent edifice which once crowned the mount. On it lay a few white and red rags, and above it hung some tattered garments and ostrich eggs. The panel of one end contained a long Arabic inscription. This is the visible tomb of the Prophet; but the grave, as of the patriarchs at Hebron, is in a dark vault below. Lighting a torch of dry sticks and shrubs, we descended a flight of rough stone steps, and stood before a niche apparently cut in the living rock, and once ornamented and defended by beautiful brass doors of open work, which now hang suspended by cords instead of turning on hinges. This subterranean apartment is small, filled with rubbish, begrimed by the smoke of the flambeaux, and altogether forbidding. My impression was that it had been a small subterranean

chapel, such as the grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem. It is not very probable that it was excavated by Moses and Eleazar when they buried the high-priest of Israel here.

The exterior of the building differs nothing in appearance from the tombs of sheikhs in the principal villages in Egypt, and perhaps does not date much farther back than these. It is evidently constructed on the site of a former splendid edifice, whose foundation walls are visible amid the rubbish, a part of whose beautiful mosaic pavement is seen in the floor of the present tomb, and the sections of whose columns are worked into its walls, while a beautifully carved piece of pure white marble, once perhaps belonging to the great altar, crowns the rude dome. I ascended to the roof to enjoy once more the magnificent prospect. Near, on the west, lay the El-Arabah, like the bed of a vast river encumbered with shoals of sand, and sprinkled over with stunted shrubs; beyond expanded the Desert, in which Israel wandered thirty-eight years, until the whole host perished; to the north were seen the mountains of the Promised Land, upon which Aaron had cast his last look as he died; to the south the Arabah stretched away to the Red Sea, where Israel turned eastward and then northward to "compass the land of Edom;" to the east a magnificent range of yellowish mountains bounded the view, between which and the mount on which I stood, and directly under my eyes, once lay nestled in the rocks the fair city of Petra. As entranced I gazed upon this stirring panorama, I was startled by an Arab firing his matchlock, the reverberations of which among the mountains were surprisingly loud and long continued. The countless echoes seemed

By Leon de Laborde.

1. El Khasne — the principal Monument

- 1 El Khazne – the principal Monument
- 2 Theatre
- 3 Tomb surmounted by an Urn
- 4 Caruthian Tomb
- 5 Great Tomb with three rows of Columns
- 6 Tomb with the Latin Inscription
- 7 Substructure of a bridge
- 8 Rem of an Arch of Triumph
- 9 Zeb Pharon, ruined Basilica
- 10 Sireid Pharon, ruined Temple
- 11 El Dar- large Tomb
- 12 Sireuseit cut in the flint.

to be the voices of past events become audible again after an interval of thousands of years.

We descended the eastern side of the mountain, which we found always steep and rugged, and sometimes dangerous. At its base, turning to the northeast, we entered upon the Plains of Aaron, an uneven district of a soft gray sandstone, which lies between the precipitous ranges of the variegated sandstone which form the barriers of Petra on the east and west. Immediately upon entering this district we were amid the tombs, and advancing perhaps a mile, came to fallen columns and ruined edifices ; and immediately gaining the crest of a ridge, the Valley of Moses (Wady Mousa) suddenly expanded before us, literally covered with the remains of temples, triumphal arches, and dwellings, and enclosed by mural mountains, whose faces are hewn into a thousand beautiful architectural forms, and pierced by countless portals, which lead to inner chambers where rested the dead. One could but ask, How has the proud city become desolate ? Not a sign of life appeared, as the ruins hid from our view an Arab woman with her child, watching a small flock of little goats, and our tents were concealed in an angle of the rock, which had been excavated to form two sides of the forum, whose colonnades had fallen into the brook which swept by its front.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PETRA.

Boundaries of the Vale of Petra.—Different Ways of Access.—The Sik.—Pavement.—Aqueducts.—Triumphal Arch.—Tombs.—The Treasury of Pharaoh.—Guard-house.—Tomb with Greek Inscription.—Theatre.—Sepulchre opposite.—View of the City Area.—Tombs in the Eastern Cliffs.—Corinthian Tomb.—Tombs in the Western Cliffs.—Unfinished Sepulchre.

IN order that the reader may obtain a clear view of the character and position of this celebrated valley, I present a short statement of its boundaries, which may be fully understood, I trust, with the aid of the accompanying Plan, taken from Laborde.

I had received the impression from books of travels, especially from Laborde's account, that the city was enclosed on all sides by precipitous mountains. This is not true. It will be seen from the plan that a range of mountains limits the site on the east, and a similar one, not quite parallel to the first, on the west. These *are* precipitous red sandstone ridges, several hundred feet high. But on the north and south there is no such barrier; indeed, the country in those directions may be said to be comparatively open, as the hills of soft gray sandstone sink lower and lower as they approach the valley, and there are various gorges through which access is easy. An uneven tract on the north has obtained the name of Sutûh Beida, or White Plains, from the colour of the sandstone which forms its principal feature. In the northwest angle of the valley is a gorge (A), through which passes the way to El-Deir, a large temple cut in the face of a mountain. Farther south, still on the west side, is another wady (B), which extends no one knows

where, as it has not been explored. A few hundred yards from the mouth of this ravine another opens from it northwardly, which also gives access through the hills to El-Deir. South of this gorge the range of sandstone rock is continued uninterruptedly for some distance. A little above the point E it begins to break down, and at that point where we ourselves entered, it is quite passable for caravans. Crossing the sandstone hills on the southern border, called Sutûh Haroun (Plains of Aaron), we come at the point (F) to the entrance of the Sîk or wady, which anciently, perhaps, formed the only regular *road* of access to Petra. Laborde marks it on his map the "only entrance to the town;" but this, as I have before remarked, is not true. We now reach the eastern rock barrier, which is continued without break to the northeast extremity of the valley. With this outline, the reader, I trust, will more readily comprehend the statements which follow.

I shall deviate a little from the precise order of our observations in Petra, in order to give the reader a connected view of what we saw during our stay, commencing with the gorge or Sîk that forms the southeast entrance to the place. It will be seen from the plan that a small stream passes through it, and runs across the site of the city, going out by another ravine on the western side. At the time of freshets this brook rises, and makes the Sîk almost impassable; but at the time of our visit there was very little water: still, as the passage is very narrow, varying from twelve to perhaps twenty-five feet, and is choked with oleanders and other shrubs, we made our way with some difficulty, bearing down the bushes on either hand, and leaping from side to side of the brook. From the squared stones and fragments of masonry which lie in the bed of the stream

and are found heaped up on its sides, it is obvious that it once ran in a regularly paved channel. Nor is this the only indication of the former wealth and importance of the city to which this narrow passage led. A few feet above the pavement, a channel is cut in the solid rock on the left-hand side, which doubtless conveyed the water, and at the height of some twenty feet on the right side are remains of an aqueduct of earthen crocks joined by cement, let into the face of the rock. The cliffs are of red sandstone, perpendicular, and varying in height from two to perhaps three hundred feet. Their rugged summits cast a deep shadow on the narrow pass, shutting out the sun even at midday. The whole length of the ravine, which changes its course frequently, is a little more than a mile and a half. Some terrible convulsion of nature must have rent the mountains asunder from the top to the bottom, leaving this narrow zigzag chasm between the cliffs. Supposing us to enter at the eastern extremity, passing amid lesser tombs on the right and left, the first striking object that arrests our attention is an airy arch of white sandstone, with a span of thirty-five feet, springing across the ravine at the height of about seventy feet. It rests upon the opposite sides of the chasm, in which, under the bases of the arch, are sculptured half columns as supports, and between them, on each side, is a niche for a statue. The northwest corner of the arch is somewhat broken away. What might have been the effect of this lofty arch when the pilasters below, and the cornices and ornaments above were complete, cannot be known; as now seen, it is pretty, but not magnificent; still, amid the savage wildness of the gloomy ravine which it spans, it is an impressive object. It has been called a triumphal arch, but there is nothing to indicate such a design; it was,

probably, merely an ornament of the principal entrance to the city.

As we came down the ravine westward, I observed occasionally square holes cut into the rock, as if to receive beams for barriers. There are many tablets sculptured on the sides of the cliffs: on two of them I perceived Greek inscriptions, which, however, I could not decipher. A great number of tombs are excavated from the rock, most of which have ornamented doors. Opening into the main ravine at different points are lateral gorges, which are occasionally smoothed with the chisel, and furnished with steps to pass into them. Before reaching the Khuzneh we observed a series of broad steps at the opening of one of these, leading southward, and determined to explore it. We had our labour for our pains, as we found nothing but various flights of steps and passages cut in the rock. I am persuaded, however, that thorough exploration of these numerous lateral gorges in and about the valley would lead to valuable results. We did our part, so far, at least, as labour and danger were concerned, for we narrowly escaped severe falls in several places. Our interpreter, Said, did not come off so well; he fell from a narrow ledge of rock, and came near breaking his neck. After this last expedition we thought it time to go home—that is, to our tents—as we were thoroughly tired, and the sun had gone down behind the summit of Mount Hor.

Next morning we awoke early, amid the singing of birds, the only “dwellers in the clefts of the rocks” at this day in Petra. After an early breakfast we resumed our survey of the ruined city. Returning to the Wady Sîk, we passed down it westward to the site of the Khuzneh, or Treasury of Pharaoh.* It is situated

* Plan No. 1.

in the precipice, at an angle of the ravine, or, rather, at the junction of four ravines coming in different directions, so that its fair proportions are visible for some distance. Yet the area in front is by no means great, and the effect of the façade is heightened by the perpendicular walls of rock that rise on either hand to the height of two hundred and fifty or three hundred feet.

Language might be exhausted in a description of this beautiful monument, and yet no approach could be made to a picture of its exquisite colours and proportions. I had been prepared to expect much from the glowing accounts of travellers, and, to tell the truth, had set down many of their raptures and rhapsodies for the exaggerations in which they are sometimes allowed to indulge; but when we sat down before this splendid work of art in the early morning, just as the sun was pouring his first light obliquely upon its front through the southern chasm, and illuminating its elegant columns, graceful pediment, and delicately-chiselled ornaments, and bringing out the rich and graceful hues—the rose, white, yellow, orange, and purple tints of the variegated sandstone—the whole appearing as fresh and perfect as if finished yesterday, I was absolutely fascinated. No beauty of Pantheon or Parthenon rivals this exquisite front in the mountain gorge at Petra. Its wonderful preservation gives it a great advantage over other remains of ancient art. I could almost have imagined the artist of the fair work to be standing near me, enchanted with the product of his own genius. Its preservation is due to its position, defended by the overhanging rocks. The façade itself is a vast bas-relief, sculptured out of the freestone rock, which is hewn away so as to afford a recess some ninety feet wide and one hundred and forty high, leaving a lofty pile of one hundred and fifty feet of

craggy cliffs above it, and jutting beyond it on each side. It is like a magnificent picture set in a rough but costly frame. Except that the moisture has worn away the bases of the columns, one of which has fallen, it has suffered little from the elements. The front is of two stories. The lower story has a fine portico of four Corinthian columns, and an entablature highly ornamented with wreaths and festoons. The upper consists of three parts, a circular, temple-like sculpture in the centre, and two others at the flanks, of similar architecture, but square. The central one is surmounted by a large urn, which the Arabs once believed to contain the treasures of Pharaoh, and were accustomed to discharge their matchlocks at it for the purpose of breaking and bringing it down. By this means it has been disfigured; but the recent visits of many Franks seem to have convinced the wild Bedouin that there is no treasure there, and he has ceased to fire at the urn. The interior of the Khuzneh is not in keeping with the impressive front. I felt the disappointment expressed by all travellers when I entered and found nothing but a large chamber, perhaps twenty-five feet high and sixty feet square, with several smaller ones opening into it, all entirely plain, and rough as if just from the pickaxe of the excavator, and untouched by the chisel. No light is admitted except through the door. There is nothing to indicate that the excavation was intended for a tomb, nor are there any arrangements such as we should look for in a temple—no niches, pedestals, or altars. The ornaments of the front, the equestrian statues, eagles, warriors with raised battle-axes, and figure of Ceres with her cornucopia, indicate a Roman origin. I am inclined to concur with the opinion that ascribes the work to the time of Trajan, or even to a later period.

Two hundred feet below the Khuzneh, on the right of the ravine, we found a broad flight of steps cut in the rock, leading to an open chamber forty feet square, well lighted from two openings, and having a raised divan hewn out of the rock on three sides. Its peculiar construction, having no appearance of tomb or temple, and the fact of its being entirely open in front, led me to imagine that it might have been a guard-house. About sixty feet farther down, in the opposite rock, are two tombs, close together, with ornamented entrances. One of these is the "tomb with the Greek inscription" mentioned by Laborde. Dr. Robinson remarks that he could not find this inscription; the reason probably was, that the architrave on which it is engraved has fallen down, most likely since Laborde's visit.

Descending the ravine still towards the town, we come to the remains of the ancient theatre. The area in front of it is entirely enclosed by lofty cliffs, whose whole surface is covered with sculptured tombs. The ornaments of many of them are nearly perfect, but others are merely gaping openings into unadorned chambers. No two sepulchres are alike in size or decorations: some of them are two stories high, and others three. They are so high in the perpendicular rock as to make access impracticable by any means at our command.

The theatre was properly a semicircular amphitheatre, containing thirty-three rows of seats, hewn out of the living rock. The benches and steps are well preserved. The chord of the arch across the façade is 120 feet, so that the amphitheatre could have accommodated three thousand spectators or more. A row of double columns ran along the front: they have fallen to the ground, though some of the bases still retain their original positions. Above the highest row of seats the rock is pier-



ced with many chambers, unornamented. These may have formed boxes for the richer citizens, though some class them with the tombs that abound in every part of the hills. The rugged cliff towers some 250 feet above them.* The accompanying plate exhibits very well the present appearance of the theatre, with the adjacent tombs and scattered fragments of marbles and sculpture.

Directly opposite to the theatre, on the right side of the brook, is a subordinate hill of rock, almost insulated, behind which towers the mountain mass of the cliff, its walls adorned with tombs whose bases are on a level with the summit of the hill, which was itself formerly a labyrinthic sepulchre, with its sides pierced and sculptured on all hands, and its summit hewn into turreted tombs. These seem to have been entered from above, as there are flights of steps to ascend to them from the top of the hill. When the sepulchral ornaments which once decorated this swelling mass of rock were perfect, and those which studded the mountain above it, and the cliffs that overhang the theatre on the opposite side, and those at the mouth of the ravine, and below, towards the city, were new, with their many flights of steps and sculptured ornaments; and when the façade of the theatre presented its ranges of columns in all their massive grandeur, while above it appeared the face of the mountain, smoothed and pierced with many chambers, and still high above those towered the beetling cliff of many-coloured sandstone, the spectacle must have been striking indeed, if not the most imposing ever presented to the eye of man. And yet it was a strange commingling of life and death that was here exhibited: the gay laughter of assembled crowds in the playhouse, amid the

* Plan No. 2.

tombs of countless dead, all in full view as the spectators passed in or out of the splendid portico. The associations of the place might befit the Medea or the Œdipus Tyrannus, but would seem woefully out of keeping with the keen satires of Aristophanes or the comedies of the Roman stage.

Descending the brook northward from the theatre two or three minutes, we issue into the area occupied by the city proper. Taking our stand at the point marked (G) in the Plan, we can look over the whole space. The eastern cliffs bear away to the right, presenting a slightly convex front upon the area. It is in these piles of sandstone that the most conspicuous tombs are to be found: the best specimens of these are given in Laborde's drawings. The first noticeable one is called the *Ionic* tomb, because it is flanked on each side by a low portico of corrupted Ionic columns. Entering this, we found it to consist of a large chamber, which had evidently been converted into a Christian church. Three recesses were excavated in the back wall for altars, in one of which is a Greek inscription in red paint, which seems to have been legible to Irby and Mangles, as they state that it records the date of the consecration of the church, but it was too dim to be made out by any of our party.

The next remarkable monument was called by Laborde the *Corinthian* tomb,* from the character of the columns which adorn its front. Its interior is principally remarkable for the number of niches for coffins which it contains. Still farther on is a very large tomb, having three ranges of columns, one above the other.† It occupies a prominent point of the cliff, and must formerly have been the most conspicuous object of the kind

* Plan No. 4.

† Plan No. 5.

seen from the city. If once painted white, as Laborde supposes (and it is probable, from portions of the colouring matter which still appear in some places), it must have presented the singular appearance of a vast white tablet impressed upon the cliff, surrounded on all sides by the variegated sandstone. Still farther north, in an angle formed by the breaking down of the cliff on the edge of a ravine coming in from the east, is the tomb mentioned by Laborde with the Latin inscription. It notes the death of Quintus Prætextus Florentinus, who was governor of the province perhaps in the time of Hadrian. The general agreement of this with the other tombs suggests that most of the monuments date within the Christian era. The intermixture of Syrian, Egyptian, and Græco-Roman styles confirms this suggestion.

Farther to the northeast are isolated hills and rocks, sculptured with tomb fronts, and pierced with chambers; but as they are less imposing as the hills sink down, and open a way to the elevated plains of Sutûh Beida, I shall not mention them in detail, but pass across to the western cliffs, which are not so conspicuous from the city as the eastern, and, therefore, are not so rich in sepulchral monuments. It seems that the prevailing consideration in choosing the place for a tomb was, that it should be prominent, and visible from a distance; still, the western cliffs are full of plain tombs, and a few handsomer ones are found farther south, in the direction of Aaron's Plains. But there is one tomb remaining, near the point at which the brook enters the western cliff, that is especially worthy of notice, as, being unfinished, it exhibits the manner in which these great works were executed. The entablature and capitals are finished, but below them the rock remains. The first step was obviously to cut a deep recess in the rock, the sec-

ond to smooth the surface carefully. The designs were then drawn on the smoothed surface, and the sculpture commenced *at the top* ; thus the weight of the material rested on the ground until the whole was executed.

CHAPTER XIX.

PETRA.

Ascent to El-Deir.—The Temple.—Remarkable Ruin.—View from the Summit.—Staircase in the Mountain Side.—City Proper.—Ancient Population of Petra.—Question as to the Excavations.—Historical Sketch.—Question as to Identity of Petra.—Scripture Prophecies Relating to Petra.—Their Fulfilment.—Causes of its Ancient Splendour.—Decay.—Overstraining of Prophecy.

It now remained for us, before ending our examination of the cliffs surrounding the city, to visit El-Deir, the most splendid monument at Petra except the Khuzneh. The reader will see that it lies in the northwestern extremity,* at a considerable elevation above the city area. Travellers generally ascend to it by means of a ravine, which descends irregularly from the heights into the northwest angle of the area, in which steps are hewn out of the rock for a great part of the way. We ascended, however, by the chasm through which the brook passes into the western cliff, and then, by a lateral ravine, marked somewhat too distinctly in the Plan, reached a part of the hill which we were able to clamber over with some difficulty. Dr. Robinson remarks on this passage as follows: "We endeavoured to find the lateral chasm marked on Laborde's plan as leading up towards the right quite to the Deir. There are short chasms enough in that direction, but none extending to the Deir, which, indeed, seems to be inaccessible from this quarter, as we found by our own experience, and from the testimony of Arab shepherds on the spot." It is entirely correct that the gorge does not extend *quite*

* Plan No. 11.

to the Deir ; but yet we did obtain access from the hill in this direction, though with much toil and some danger. Gaining the summit, a pretty vale opened suddenly before us, imbosomed in the mountain, with a fair prospect west and south. We here obtained an oblique view of the temple, which is hewn out of the cliff on the northeast of the vale, and hastening forward, we sat down on the rocks opposite to it, with an esplanade richly covered with vegetation intervening between us and the façade.

El-Deir is, like the Khuzneh, a strong relief, sculptured out of a deep recess cut in the yellow sandstone of the cliff, which does not overhang it, however. Its general effect is very similar to that of the Khuzneh, but it is in inferior taste, and has not the advantages of position enjoyed by that remarkable monument. Its architecture is quite fantastic. I found the length of the front to be 136 feet : the apparent elevation is not in proportion, as the bases of the columns are buried by soil brought down from the adjacent heights. The interior consists of a single room, about forty feet square and twenty-five high, without any kind of ornament ; there is an arched recess in the back wall ; a raised platform below, with steps leading up to it at each end. These were evidently cut long after the monument was finished, probably for the purpose of adapting the room to use as a Christian church.

Our attention was now attracted by a remarkable rock, covered with ruins, on the opposite side of the plateau from El-Deir, in the southwest. Crossing the esplanade, we found the hill perpendicular in front ; but at the northwest corner are the remains of a broad stairway, partly cut in the rock, and partly built up with masonry, by which we ascended. At the top we found that

the rock had been cut away, leaving a platform in front, on which yet remain the bases of a double range of columns, which must have stood on the very verge of the precipice, forming a noble portico, overlooking the grand façade of El-Deir. Behind this platform the rock is excavated into a large chamber, which probably formed the cella of a temple, to which the portico was the entrance. In the back wall is a niche, carefully sculptured, but not in the best possible taste. In the wall above the niche, and also on each side, were many small square holes, which might have received the frames for a curtain or veil to the adytum. On the whole, this excavated chamber resembles a heathen temple more than anything we saw about Petra. But this was not all the ornament of this single rock. The mass from which the temple was excavated, and which rose high above the portico, was itself the basis of another pile of building. Ascending to the top, we found the remains of such a pile lying in confusion around. It must have been a striking object in the days of its ancient splendour. First, the rock smoothed into a perpendicular precipice; then cut away into a terrace for the reception of a double portico; then stretching up again to the summit, and then surmounted by another pile! What wealth and perseverance these "dwellers in the rock" must have possessed!

From this summit we had a fine view of the vale of El-Deir. Its surface is strewn with square stones, probably the ruins of a town whose population once worshipped in these temples and gave life to these mountains. The sepulchral chambers which abound in the neighbourhood confirm this conclusion. This was probably one of the suburbs of Petra, built after the population of the place became too great for its narrow lim-

its. Probably there are more such spots yet unexplored amid the many ravines and gardens which no European has yet visited.

The descent from El-Deir to Petra is almost as great a wonder as anything else in this city of miracles. One can hardly conceive the labour that this approach must have cost. Many hundred feet of staircase, partly cut in the solid rock, must have formerly afforded access from the town to this temple and the sepulchres around it. Everywhere, in this marvellous avenue, can be seen flights of steps, cut in the living rock, and leading, on either hand, to retired resting-places of the dead, or to temples and monuments now unknown. Centuries ago this solitary and ruinous avenue was alive with thronging crowds—the gay, the grave, the great. It could not but cause us sad and melancholy thoughts to tread it. So complete a destruction is not to be found elsewhere of a great city so lately standing in its pride.

Having thus taken the reader rapidly along with us in our exploration of the cliffs that surround Petra, we beg him to return with us to our point of observation (F) near the mouth of the Sîk, in the southeast angle of the city, that we may take a rapid glance together at the city proper. It is absolutely covered with the ruins of dwellings, pavements, arches, and bridges. The number of fragments of public edifices is almost incredible, while, without doubt, more have been swept away. Of all the ancient edifices, the remains of but three are standing. On the high ground south of the brook stands a lone column, in the midst of its prostrate fellows, which belonged to a temple whose form and dimensions may still be traced. Near the western cliff (No. 10 in the Plan) are the ruins called the Palace of Pharaoh, of which the walls remain almost entire. Several of the

columns which adorn its front are still standing. Part of a triumphal arch (No. 8) is to be seen a little east of the Palace of Pharaoh. Besides these, there are no standing monuments, but piles of columns, hewn stones, and sculptured fragments strew the ground in every direction.

It is clear, from the remains and from all the appearances about Petra, that its population must have been very dense. Dr. Robinson supposes that within the area there was space enough to afford room, "in an Oriental city, for the accommodation of thirty or forty thousand inhabitants." The extension of the city southward, over Aaron's Plains, might swell the number to 45,000; and if we take into consideration, still farther, the suburbs which lay in the smaller valleys in the immediate vicinity, as that of El-Deir and others, perhaps more populous still. We may, perhaps with reason, estimate the population of the city, in the days of its glory, at from 70,000 to 100,000.

The question has often been started whether the countless chambers cut in the rocks about Petra were really sepulchres, or whether they may not, or at least a part of them, have been originally dwellings. Of course this question occupied our attention as we wandered amid these strange defiles, once peopled with the living or the dead. The fact that no skeleton, or even fragment of one, has been found in any of the recesses, seems to militate against the hypothesis that they were tombs; and some suppose that the representation of the inhabitants, by the prophets Obadiah and Jeremiah, as "dwellers in the clefts of the rock," intimates the use of these excavations as dwellings. On the other hand, many of them have niches for receptacles of the dead, and their whole appearance clearly shows them to have been

sepulchral. May it not have been the case, that out of the vast number of these subterraneous chambers, part were excavated for dwellings, and occupied as such? To this opinion, after an examination of the localities themselves, and a careful review of the arguments on both sides, with which I need not trouble the reader, I am disposed to incline.

The history, and even the position of Petra, was lost for ages to the world. It was long known, however, that the Edomites had a capital city whose name was Petra, but the accounts of the ancient writers were very unsatisfactory—mere scraps, indeed; and up to the time of Burckhardt's visit in 1812, nothing was known of its site. This adventurous traveller was the first to penetrate the Wady Mousa, and the first also to suggest its identity with the long-lost capital of Idumea.* After him, Messrs. Irby and Mangles visited the ruins in 1818, Laborde and Linant in 1828, and Stephens in 1836. Since that period a visit to Petra has formed part of the plan of almost every Eastern tourist. The mystery that formerly enveloped this ruined city among the rocks is fast passing away.

A few passages of Strabo, Pliny, and Diodorus Siculus comprise nearly all that the classical writers afford us in regard to Petra. From these passages, Colonel Leake, the editor of Burckhardt's Travels, wrought an ingenious argument, which has been generally adopted by subsequent writers, to prove that the remains at Wady Mousa are those of the ancient Petra. An elaborate article (by General Cass) in the North American Review, No. 102, analyzes this argument very acutely,

* Dr. Robinson states that the German geographer, Ritter, had made the same suggestion at a somewhat earlier period, on the strength of Seetzen's reports.

and attempts to show the inapplicability of the fragmentary passages referred to, and their insufficiency to prove the point in question. The whole subject is ably summed up by Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Researches*, vol. ii.), with his usual learning and accuracy. His views confirm those of Colonel Leake, and are now, I think, generally adopted by the learned world. At the same time, there are respectable authorities which admit the existence of three separate places to which the name of Petra belonged. On the whole, I feel warranted in adopting the view which fixes Wady Mousa as the site of that Petra which was the ancient capital of Edom, and assigns to it the statements of Pliny, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and the denunciations of the Prophets.

In 2 Kings, xiv., 7, we are told that Amaziah "slew of Edom, in the Valley of Salt, ten thousand, and took Selah [the Rock] by war, and called the name of it Jokthul unto this day." This text is applied to Petra, and with great probability. The same place is also mentioned in Isa., xvi., 1; and these two are the only passages in Scripture in which the name is given. As the capital of Edom, the city was doubtless founded by the descendants of Esau, who received Mount Seir as his inheritance. This name belongs to the whole range of mountains on the east of the broad Wady Arabah, extending from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea to the Elanitic Gulf (Akabah), where were the Eloth and Ezion-geber of Scripture. The most conspicuous point of this range was Mount Hor, whose inhabitants the descendants of Esau destroyed, and dwelt in their stead. This neighbourhood was their home. The mountains and the Arabah on the west, and the adjoining desert on the east, were their pasture grounds. When trade arose between the densely-peopled coun-

tries on the shore of the Mediterranean and the southern regions comprehended under the general names of Arabia, India, and Ethiopia, the inhabitants of Arabia Petræa necessarily became the carriers between them, as their camels afforded the only means of conveyance between the Persian and Elanitic gulfs and the countries on the Mediterranean. Entrepôts for the exchange of commodities were required, and, in the selection of these, safety and strength were the great requisites. No situation in the whole region combined these qualities in so high a degree as the Valley of Petra, and it was, at the same time, sufficiently central. Doubtless the rise and prosperity of the city, and its advance to such a pitch of wealth and splendour in this almost inaccessible mountain, surrounded on all sides by deserts, are to be attributed to its possessing the transit trade from north to south, as Palmyra had arisen by a similar trade from east to west. At the time of the conquest of Arabia Petræa by Trajan, in the beginning of the second century, Petra was a place of great commercial importance, which it probably retained for a century or two afterward, though nothing is known of its condition with any definiteness. Nor is the time or the cause of its overthrow to be ascertained. It may have lost its importance by the diversion of the trade from the Red Sea to the Nile,* or have been destroyed by some incursion of the wandering tribes of the Desert, or, finally, by the march of Mohammedan conquests in the seventh century. "As it is," remarks Dr. Robinson, "the sudden and total disappearance of the very name

* There was a line of commercial towns from Berenice, low down on the Red Sea, to Coptos on the Nile, in Upper Egypt. The trade by Kolzum, now Suez, to the Nile, at and below Cairo, is well known.

and trace of a city so renowned is one of the most singular circumstances of its history."

The city of Petra, and the land of Edom, of which it was the capital, afford some of the most striking instances of the fulfilment of prophecy that can be found in all history. The most marked portions of the prophecies relating to this devoted land are here presented together.

"My sword shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse, to judgment. From generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it forever and ever. But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it: and thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof; and it shall be a habitation of dragons, and a court for owls."—(Isai., xxxiv.) "Lo, I will make thee small among the heathen, and despised among men. *Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill: though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence,* and Edom shall be a desolation: every one that goeth by it shall be astonished."—(Jer., xlix.) "O Mount Seir, I am against thee, and I will stretch out my hand against thee, and make thee most desolate. Thus will I make Mount Seir most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out and him that returneth. Thou shalt be desolate, O Mount Seir, and all Idumea, even all of it."—(Ezek., xxxv.) "Behold, I have made thee small among the heathen: thou art greatly despised. *The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high.*"—(Obad., i.)

The passages in italics are generally referred to the city of Petra. Certainly there is a wonderful adaptation

in the language to that rock-encircled city, whose dwellers even hewed out their abodes from the cliffs of the rock. Her palaces are ruined ; her fortresses destroyed ; and the owls make their abodes amid her temples and sepulchres. Hundreds of years after these words were uttered by the Prophet, this city was the busy mart of an extended commerce, and the capital of a Roman province. Yet the sure word of prophecy was accomplished ; and now “ no man abides there, neither does a son of man dwell in it.” As for the remaining part of the prophecy, no man can pass over the desolate mountains and deserts of Idumea, and not wonder at their accurate accomplishment in the utter and irretrievable ruin of the land. The curse of Mount Seir has indeed been fearfully accomplished. Nor is it necessary to strain the language of the Prophet, or to exaggerate the facts of the case, in order to exhibit the fulfilment of the prediction. Most injudiciously have some writers attempted to find a *literal* fulfilment of the glowing vaticinations of Ezekiel and Jeremiah in regard to Edom ; this unwise mode of interpretation is as much out of place here as it generally is in the exposition of Scripture prophecy. Dr. Keith even goes so far as to assume that the passages, “ I will cut off from Mount Seir him that passeth out and him that returneth,” and “ None shall pass through [Idumea] forever and ever,” are to be literally understood ; and this, too, while people have been going and returning from Mount Seir, and passing through Idumea perhaps every day since the prophecy was uttered. With singular want of feeling, as well as of judgment, Keith insinuates that Seetzen and Burckhardt lost their lives in consequence of attempting the passage through Idumea. Such overstrained interpretation as this can only do harm to the cause of religion.

CHAPTER XX.

People of Wady Mousa.—The Servant of Haroun.—Departure from Petra.—Washington's Birthday.—Loss of a Camel.—Heavy Rains.—Summit-level of the Arabah.—Said's Story.—Kadesh Barnea.—Apprehensions of Conflict.—Pleasant Disappointment.—The Caravan.—Position of Kadesh Barnea.—Pass Es-Sûfah.—The Promised Land.

I HAD been so absorbed in examining the ruins of the city, that I had wellnigh forgotten the living world around me; for even here, in these savage mountains, the same passions are at work that disturb well-regulated communities. The next day after we had pitched our tents in the ancient Forum, the old gray-bearded sheikh of Wady Mousa, the decrepit *servant of Haroun* (Aaron), and some twenty or thirty savage-looking men, with matchlocks and rusty swords, assembled around our tents, together with some women and children, with their flocks of goats and wooden tubs of butter ready to sell to the strangers. Fortunately, we had contracted with Hussein to pay all demands until we reached Hebron, and of course referred the Wady Mousa people, when they demanded entrance-money and *buksheesh*, to Sheikh Salim, who paid them honourably, according to an arrangement lately made among themselves with respect to travellers. Our Bedouins received sixty piastres to purchase two sheep for a feast, but they pocketed the money, knowing that if the feast was made in Petra they would taste but little of it, as the whole tribe of Wady Mousa would be their guests, according to the custom of the country. Next morning the Petræan sheikh brought a nice fatted lamb as a present to the strangers; but upon being informed

by Said, though without our authority, that we did not eat meat, as it was *Lent*, the old chief became enraged, and threatened to shoot him, because, as he alleged, Said advised us not to take his present, and of course he had no hope of receiving one in return. Our sheikh interfered, told the Wady Mousian that he ought to be ashamed of his conduct, and made Said keep near him.

The little old *servant of Haroun* was not so easily put off. We had not contracted for his demand, but we had unintentionally overreached him by ascending to the tomb of the high-priest before coming to Wady Mousa. To his pressing application to Said to send his masters with Haroun's servant on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Neby (Prophet), he received for answer from the wily Egyptian, that the gentlemen were Christians, and did not know Haroun. Though this was said without our authority, yet it served as an apology to the old man for what seemed to be a neglect of the Prophet, but particularly of the interest of the Prophet's old servant. Finally, seeing no hope of conducting us up the mountain, he came to our tent door, and squatting his emaciated half-naked form lowly on the ground, looked so wistfully out of his eyes, dimmed with age, and held out his hard, bony hand so imploringly, without uttering a word, that we sent him not empty away.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the third day after our arrival in Wady Mousa, our caravan was in motion, and, passing over the Plains of Aaron, we wound round to the southwest of Mount Hor, attaining about nine o'clock the summit of a ridge from which we looked back upon Petra on the east, down into the Arabah on the west, and up to the tomb of Aaron, which impended above us. We had halted to look for the last time upon the desolate city, into whose open



sepulchres the sun was pouring floods of light, when Mr. D. called aloud, "*This is Washington's birthday!*" What a place for a round, and three cheers for our country and our Washington!" No sooner said than all dismounted, our sheikh's long spear was stuck in the ground for a standard, bearing aloft a handkerchief for our flag, the Arabs, with matchlocks charged to the muzzle, drawn up around it, and each of us, with pistol in hand and faces homeward, waiting for the word. Up went a cap in the air, the platoon discharged, the cheers followed, and we left the thousand echoes in the mountains repeating to the eagles screaming in the skies, "*Hurrah for Washington and America.*" Joys and sorrows are strangely mixed up in this world. The glee of the Bedouins, whom we had made to understand that Washington was our great sheikh, and that they had honoured him, had not subsided, when Salim rode up to me and announced that one of the camels had failed under his burden, and was expiring in the path some few miles back, where he had just left the owner weeping over it. The poor fellow came to us no more.

We encamped in the eastern edge of the Arabah, in full view of the double-peaked summit of Mount Hor, over which hung a heavy cloud that moved slowly away to the southwest. Next morning we found that heavy rains had fallen to the south of us, as large bodies of muddy water were flowing rapidly through the several channels northward to the Dead Sea. We had some difficulty in making the camels cross these streams, which were from two to three feet deep, and in some instances from fifty to seventy wide. The direction of the floods, the rapidity of the currents, and the very large quantity of water, prove that the summit-level in

the Arabah is much farther south, and its descent northward to the Dead Sea very considerable. Sheikh Salim says that the summit-level is ten hours, or about twenty-seven miles north of Akabah.

Upon counting the watch-fires around our first encampment from Petra, I found the number increased by the addition of one, about which were grouped a black, savage-looking Bedouin, his wife, child, camel, and donkey. This family slept under the open heaven, without any bed except their coarse camel furniture. I never knew whence they came. They continued with us a day or two, and then bore away westward to Gaza.

As I found nothing to interest me the first day from the foot of Mount Hor, I drew Said into a conversation about his own private affairs. Asking him if he had a wife, he replied, "No, but I came near having one." His story was as follows: "I said to my sister, I am going to get married to-night. So I put fifty dollars in my pocket, and went and made a great dinner—coffee and everything—and gave twenty-seven dollars to the woman's friends for her. But, according to Arab custom, I had not seen the woman. Late at night all the men left, and I said to the old man, Where is my wife? He went out, and presently a woman entered, and I said, Who is that? She said, Your wife. I looked at her—a little, old, ugly thing: so I say, No, you not my wife; and in quarter of an hour I was on my way home. I was ashamed next day to see anybody. My sister asked me if I was married. I said, No. She asked me where my money was. I told her I lent it. Long time after, one friend ask me if I did not want a wife. I said, What I want with wife? Maybe I not like her when I see her. So, when I want to get married again,

I go buy me a slave—a pretty woman from Abyssinia—for \$135; then, if I do not like her, she is not my wife, but my slave.” He said he had one child, and his slave was about fifteen years old; that she often rode out on a donkey, attended by his mother; that he had beaten her but once, and that for looking through a latticed window into the street. I told him that a Christian can have but one wife, and may not change her. He said, “Suppose she is not good, and you do not love her?” I replied, “No matter, you must keep her.” He seemed surprised, and his reply imbodyed the sentiment of the Jews, as expressed to our Saviour: “If the case of a man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry.”—(Matt., xix., 20.)

Our course from the foot of Mount Hor was northwest, obliquely across the Arabah, to three fountains of water in the edge of the western Desert, and which, following Dr. Robinson, I have marked Kadesh Barnea. The Bedouins call them Ain el-Weibeh. Here is the principal watering-place in the Arabah, at which the great thoroughfares which traverse it meet. In this vicinity the wild, marauding Bedouins, from the mountains of Moab bordering the southeast of the Dead Sea, occasionally watch for an opportunity to light upon a caravan from Gaza or Mecca, when a fight for the spoils ensues. Our Bedouins evidently evinced increased anxiety as they approached the springs, and kept their scouts far ahead. Presently, signs were made by them that men were approaching. Our sheikh mounted his horse and took his spear without saying a word; his nephew took post by his side; the men quietly, yet quickly, examined their guns, ignited their matches, or picked their flints, and formed in rank, with the sheikh on horseback in front of them. The camels fell back.

I leaped down and followed in the rear of our men, until, remembering my danger, I passed off to the left. The approaching party, when at some three hundred yards distance, also put themselves in a posture of defence. I heard not a word uttered: the parties slowly, and in order, advanced with muskets, pistols, swords, and spears ready for strife. They came within point-blank pistol shot, and, while I was waiting in breathless expectation of a volley of firearms and a flow of blood, I observed our sheikh wave a small stick with an oblique head, which being answered by a similar sign from the opposite party, in a trice muzzles fell, pistols were belted, swords sheathed, parties shook hands, and the caravans passed on. We had met a caravan of merchants from Gaza, on their way to the south. It was evident they and our party were strangers to each other, as the salutations between the chief men on both sides were formal and stately, while those of the common men were hasty and slight. I turned to look upon the lengthened train of one hundred camels and as many men, as it was vanishing in the distance, and had before me a miniature of what the Desert had been when it was the highway of commerce between the north and south, and successive fleets of these "ships of the desert" imparted life to Idumea, now desolate.

In half an hour after meeting the caravan we came to Ain el-Weibeh, around which are some clumps of untrimmed palm-trees, and a tangled thicket of coarse grass, which extends far down into the Arabah. The fountains were more abundant, and the waters better than any we had found in the level deserts; and if they have participated in the general exhaustion of Idumea, it would be fair to infer that they once sent forth a much more abundant supply.

That Kadesh Barnea was somewhere in the vicinity of the northwest angle of the Arabah is evident. "There are eleven days' journey from Horeb, by the way of Mount Seir, unto Kadesh Barnea."—(Deut., i., 2.) This is said of the advance of the Israelites towards the south of Judea; of course, Kadesh lay northward from Mount Seir (Mount Hor), towards the Promised Land. It is not more than forty miles from Mount Hor to the remarkable mountain which stretches from the south end of the Dead Sea southwestward, forming the southern barrier of Judea. Kadesh must have been between Mount Hor and this mountain. It was "in the uttermost border of Edom."—(Num., xx., 16.) This must have been the *western* border, along which Israel had advanced northward directly towards the Promised Land, on the *southern* border of which they halted at Kadesh, and sent spies, which "ascended by (from) the south and came to Hebron."—(Num., xiii., 22.) Mount Seir and Hebron being fixed, Kadesh lay on the line connecting them, just without, or south of, the Promised Land, yet in the western "border of Edom." A glance at the map will show that this determines its position to be in the neighbourhood of Ain el-Weibeh, which Dr. Robinson and Mr. Smith have identified with Kadesh Barnea, partly for the reasons assigned above, and partly for the following.

There is no mention of scarcity of water upon the arrival of the Israelites at Kadesh in the second year after their departure from Egypt. It is probable, therefore, that they assembled in the neighbourhood of these fountains, the most important in the northern part of the Arabah. In their vicinity are other smaller fountains, both on the north and south. Again, at a little distance to the north rises the steep mountain already mentioned

as the southern barrier of Judea. The ascent up this mountain in the direction of Hebron is yet called Es-Sūfâh, a word "in form identical with the Hebrew Zephath, called also Hormah, which we know was the point where the Israelites attempted to ascend the mountain, so as to enter Palestine, and were driven back." The expedition of the spies from Kadesh to Hebron had been notorious in the land; and thirty-eight years afterward, when Moses led the people back to Kadesh, apparently with intent to ascend the mountain by the same pass, it is said (Num., xxi., 1), "King Arad, the Canaanite, which dwelt in the south, heard that Israel came by the way of the spies; he went out and fought with him." The country of King Arad is, by this text, determined to be "in the south," and, of course, south of Hebron, between it and the Pass es-Sūfâh. Here, then, but a few miles north of the head of the pass, is found *Tell Arad*, or the Hill of Arad, still bearing the name of this enemy of Israel, and thus attesting the Scripture. Again, it was from Kadesh "Moses sent messengers to the King of Edom, saying, Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country, by the king's high-way; and Edom said, Thou shalt not pass by me."—(Num., xx., 14–21.) The object of Moses was to pass eastward through the range of Mount Seir, then to bear north, and thus turn the Dead Sea and cross Jordan from the east. The pass through which he wished to go was "the king's high-way," which meant no more in those early days than a remarkable gap in the mountain range. Such a gap lies directly across the Arabah, eastward from Ain el-Weibeh, and marked on Dr. Robinson's map *Wady el-Guweir*. There is no other such passage through the mountains of Edom, nor, indeed, any passage practicable for such

a host as Israel was, between the Gulf of Akabah and the Dead Sea. These arguments seem conclusively to identify the Ain el-Weibeh of the Arabs with Kadesh Barnea of the Scriptures.*

With the exception of Horeb, no place between the passage of the Red Sea and the passage of the Jordan concentrates so much interest as Kadesh. From hence the spies departed to examine the Promised Land, and, returning, dissuaded the people from going up to their inheritance. Here Caleb and Joshua stood up against their fellow-spies, and declared, "We are fully able to go up and possess the land;" here the anger of the Lord burned against the disobedient people, and he declared none of the men of war should enter into Canaan; and from hence he sent them into the terrible wilderness, where they wandered thirty-eight years, till all that generation perished. Here Moses, by the command of God, smote the rock, and the waters flowed for the congregation; here Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, died and was buried; from hence Moses requested of his brother Edom a passage through his territories, and, being refused, descended the Arabah southward to Akabah, and from thence compassed the land of Edom. I sat down under the shade of a palm-tree and ran over the sacred pages which speak of Kadesh, and the stirring events which occurred here, musing upon them until my Bedouins impatiently pointed to the sun, then towards the place of encampment, far away, and urged me to remount my dromedary.

Advancing from Kadesh, at sunset we encamped in a very retired position, concealed partly by shrubs and partly by impending sandhills. Our Bedouins evidently were uneasy in the vicinity of the dwellers around

* See Dr. Robinson's Researches, vol. i., p. 609.

the south end of the Dead Sea. They kept guard on the hills until a late hour at night, and seemed anxious to conceal their watch-fires. Next morning we advanced directly to the foot of the mountain pass Es-Sūfāh, and commenced toiling up the steep ascent. The remains of an ancient road, formed of steps hewn in the rock, were perceptible in many places. It ascended in a zigzag direction, and was much worn. At the foot of it were the ruins of a massive fortification, and another at the summit. We were on the great high-way of ancient commerce between the South and North. We were climbing up the side of the mountain down which the Amorites had chased Israel, and destroyed them, even unto Hormah.—(Deut., i., 44.) Having gained the summit, the first great plateau, or steppe, being the south country of Judea, expanded upon a level with it, formed of low hills, rolling ridges, and fine valleys sprinkled over with grass, wild flowers, and shrubs. We were in the Promised Land, and before us lay the pasture-grounds of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, upon which they had tented, and over which their flocks had roamed.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE HOLY LAND.

Shooting a Gazelle.—Venison.—Aroer.—The Wells of Beersheba.—Ancient Scenes.—Flocks, Herds, and Tents.—Pasture-grounds of Abraham.—Dwellings in Caves.—Ancient Cisterns.—Ancient Road.—Approach to Hebron.—The City.—The Pool.—The Harem.—Cave of Machpelah.—Tombs of the Patriarchs.—Said's Description.—Appearance of the City.—Women Mourning in the Cemetery.—Parting with the Alouins.

HAVING paused to cast a last look down into the Arabah, and beyond to the mountains of Edom and the tomb of Aaron, which appeared like a white speck on the top of Mount Hor, we bore northwest for Abraham's Wells at Beersheba. We had gone but a little distance when four beautiful gazelles were observed on a hillside. Two or three of our men started in pursuit, and in a few minutes we heard the report of a matchlock, and saw one of the gazelles bounding down the hill on three legs, the other being broken by the shot. It was coming directly towards us, and suddenly found itself hemmed in, when the strange Arab who had joined us at Mount Hor struck it down with a stone, severed its head from its body in an instant, and bore it away as his part of the spoil. Two Bedouins held it up by the hind legs, while a third stripped the skin off in a few seconds. We purchased it, and had a mess of the same kind of venison which Esau used to take on these hills nearly four thousand years ago, and which his father Isaac loved so well, and for good reason, if it were as well flavoured as we found this to be.

The night after ascending the Pass es-Sūfâh (Pass of

the Rock) we encamped by an artificial pond of water in a large valley covered with wild flowers, and obviously once densely inhabited and carefully tilled. Early next morning we entered Wady Ararah, in which Dr. Robinson has found the site of the Aroer of Scripture. But its poor and scattered remains of unhewn stones had no charms for us while the Wells of Beersheba were at hand; so, bearing northwest over an undulating country covered with short grass, and showing everywhere marks of former cultivation, we entered upon a beautiful plain gently descending northwest to Wady es-Seba. For half a mile before we came to the dry water-channel we were passing through the ruins of a large town, and, issuing from them, we saw, just beyond the wady, a small plain of luxuriant grass, in the centre of which were several stone troughs. I hastened forward, slid down from my camel, and stood beside the wells which Abraham had dug—the Wells of Beersheba. It was the first time that I was sure of pressing the soil which had been trod by the Father of the Faithful. My first impulse was to drink of the water, and, turning to Salim, I signified my wish, to which he replied, almost in the very words of the woman of Samaria to our Lord at Jacob's Well, "The well is deep, and we have nothing with which to draw." This disappointment broke the spell which was upon me, and I began to recall the events connected with this memorable spot. A thousand stirring incidents in the lives of the Patriarchs cluster around these ancient wells. From them Abraham had departed to offer up his son Isaac, and Jacob to meet Joseph in Egypt.

There are three wells, one of which is filled up, but the other two are in good condition, affording an abundance of excellent water. They appear to be of equal

depth, perhaps fifty feet. The solid masonry is very ancient, but in excellent condition. The upper edges of the stone curbing is worn into many grooves, from two to four inches deep, by the rubbing of the cords in drawing water. Water-troughs lie around, made of blocks of stone, and of shafts and capitals of columns, which once belonged to the towns that occupied the northern and southern borders of the wady. Immediately around the wells is a brown deposite, formed by the decomposition of the manure of flocks which have been watered here from time immemorial. Spreading on all sides from this bare spot is a thick carpet of rich verdure, which seemed like a paradise to us, having just come up out of the Desert: we lay down, and rolled over and over from sheer delight.

The world is indebted to Dr. Robinson and the Rev. Mr. Smith for the rediscovery of these wells and their identification with Beersheba. Those travellers were led to the discovery by the name which the Bedouins still give to the valley in which they are situated, Wady es-Seba, and were confirmed in their opinion by the name still given to the wells, Bir es-Seba, or Well of the Oath, which is identical, both in form and meaning, with the Scripture name of it.—Gen., xxi., 31.

If what has been mentioned had not fully satisfied us of the identity of the Bir es-Seba of the Bedouins with the Beer-sheba of Scripture, we should have been convinced by a glance at the wide, rolling country around, even then (Feb. 26) covered with grass, upon which many large flocks of sheep and goats, with donkeys, horses, and cattle, were feeding, under the care of women. The black tents of the owners of these flocks were pitched in the mouth of a ravine coming down from the mountains of Judea, about two hours from the wells.

Three hours and a half from the wells, as the sun was going down, we came to the ruins of a large town, and pitched our tents under the walls of a dilapidated church in the mouth of a ravine. Higher up in this ravine was a large, black tent, in the midst of small dwellings in the cliffs, partly natural and partly artificial. Above and below these rock-habitations were enclosures of rude stone walls for the flocks, and the whole was shut in by a stone fence across the ravine below. The numerous flocks were returning under the guidance of their keepers, and crowding up the ravine towards the tent. We fell into the stream and passed up with them. Presently the dusky maids fell to milking the ewes and goats, while occasionally stout boys held the refractory animals by their hind legs. The sturdy old master-shepherd carried two or three little goats and lambs in his bosom. We approached the tent, and were invited to enter and seat ourselves on the coarse carpet spread on the ground. Bowls of warm, foaming milk were offered and tasted, and having shared their hospitality, we felt assured of their friendship. In what did this scene differ from what we should have witnessed had we chanced upon the tent of Abraham when his flocks roamed over these plains, and were, perhaps, penned in this very ravine? In what did he and his people and flocks differ from the venerable old Arab and his people and flocks there before us? Chiefly in their moral and religious character, the greater wealth of the patriarch, and the fertility of his soil. "Then Isaac sowed in that land, and received in the same year an hundred fold, and the Lord blessed him."—(Gen., xxvi., 12.) We passed through the same fields, and found the soil sterile by neglect, and only scratched here and there with a rude plough.

Next morning betimes we commenced ascending the

limestone mountains of Judea. The ascent was so steep that we accomplished it best on foot; but, gaining the summit, what a scene opened before us! To the north the "hill country" expanded into a vast rolling region of hills and dales, in the midst of which we quickly descried Hebron, the city and cemetery of the patriarchs. Below us, to the south, the plains were alive with flocks going forth to pasture: the singing of birds was heard in every direction; the sun was coming up from behind the mountains of Moab, and pouring his sweet light over the undulating country, extending from the mountains of Judea, on which we were standing, some twenty miles southward, to the precipice of es-Sūfāh, which looks down upon the Desert, and from the Dead Sea on the east to Gaza on the west. This was the winter pasture-ground of Abraham when he watered his flocks at the Wells of Beersheba, while his mountain home was five hours hence in Hebron, and his summer pasturage extended from thence northward to Bethel.

The country is desolate, without inhabitant. Occasionally were seen a flock or two of sheep or goats on the hills, and here and there little patches of grain in the valleys. Many caves were observed hollowed out in the rock for dwellings, and many cisterns, now without water, sunk in the limestone. They seemed to have been so placed as to render it easy to conduct the rain-water into them by artificial channels, made partly by low, cemented walls, and partly cut in the surface of the rock. The large, round stones that had closed up their mouths generally lay near by. The remains of a great road, leading from the town where we had encamped to Hebron, were distinctly visible. It ascended the mountain by steps cut in the rock, as at the

Pass of Es-Sūfâh, and may have been an extension of the same towards Jerusalem. The surface of the country was literally covered with stones, resembling a broken-up pavement. They had once been employed in the construction of fences along the highways and terrace walls on the sides of the steep hills, which were thus rendered fruitful to their summits. Then the whole land was green, and yielded abundant harvests for the support of a teeming population; now it was almost as silent as the grave.

As we approached Hebron, shrubs appeared on the hills, and the valleys were dammed up at intervals by stone walls to retain the water, and thus render the soil fertile. Presently we were in the midst of olive groves and vineyards, supported on the sides of the hills by terrace walls, and defended by rude stone towers. Venerable Arabs, in flowing patriarchal robes, were walking among them, superintending the pruners and vine-dressers. The women, half veiled, were washing at cisterns on the hillsides. Suddenly the hum of the town was heard; and in a few minutes the minaret, towers, and massive walls of the venerable mosque appeared, covering the tombs of Abraham and Sarah. The spell which came upon me as my eyes were riveted on the venerable pile, endeavouring to penetrate into the cave of Machpelah beneath, was not broken until my camel halted near the "pool in Hebron." Here we pitched our tents on a green hillside "before Mamre: the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan."—(Gen., xxiii., 19.) It was some time before I became sufficiently calm and reflective to recall, in order, the sacred associations which I had formed in my childhood, and cherished in hours of most exalted devotion.

While dinner was preparing, we took a guide and

our Moslem servant, and descended to the great pool of venerable masonry, whose massive walls have seen thirty centuries, and witnessed the signal vengeance which the youthful David took on the murderers of his rival Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, when he hung them up by it, so that all who came for water might see their punishment.—(2 Sam., iv., 12.) It is a quadrangle of perhaps 140 feet on each side, sunk to the depth of twenty feet in the bed of the valley, so as to collect the rain-water from the declivities above. The immense size of the stones, and the character of the masonry, suggest that they were laid contemporaneously with the lower courses of the temple foundations at Jerusalem, which are referred to Solomon. A flight of stone steps descends to the bottom in each angle, by which water is obtained for all purposes and in all conceivable vessels, from the dirty kettle to the still dirtier goatskin. A half-naked Moslem was bathing his limbs as we passed by; so we sent for water high up the green hillside, above our tents, where is a small arched cistern. At the head of the valley is a smaller pool of similar construction.

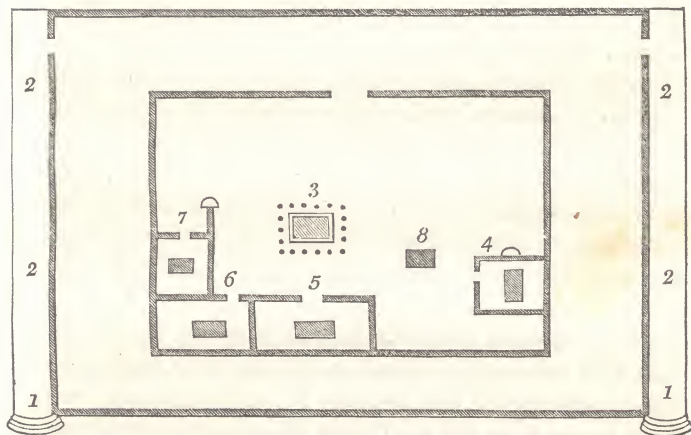
From the pool we proceeded directly to the Haram, or great mosque, in the midst of the town, on the slope of the eastern hill. Its venerable walls of immense stones, grooved at their junctures, proclaim its high antiquity; doubtless it dates back beyond the destruction of the Jewish commonwealth. The guide conducted us to the great portal, paused, and said we could go no farther. For a moment I felt as if I would have given the world for admission; but I soon recollected that we have, as a light to our feet, the examples of the glorious dead who sleep within, especially the unwavering and triumphant faith of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful and the friend of God. The tradition of his residence

in this valley is impressed upon the town, whose name, in the stereotyped language of the country, is "Kûhlil Ibrahim (Allah)," *Abraham, the Friend of God*. As we ascended the steps to the threshold the crowd of boys became insolent; the old man that met us at the door, and the guide also, manifested displeasure at our attempt to see farther within than is permitted to Christians; so we turned away, not, however, without taking a little revenge on Moslemism by directing Said to say to them, that if they would come to the land of Christianity, they should have entrance to all our churches and holy places.

All that remained for us was to survey the outer walls. They form a parallelogram which, according to Dr. Robinson, is 200 feet long and 115 broad, and enclose a court that contains the mosque, which is invisible, owing to the great height of the walls. Under the mosque, tradition, with more probability than usual, places the "Cave of Machpelah," in which were buried Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacob and Leah. Around this cave the ancient Jews built the massive enclosure; over it Helena probably built a church, which is now the mosque, upon whose beautiful mosaic pavement the Moslems have erected the tombs of their patriarchal ancestors, and covered them with rich shawls and silks, in the same manner as the tombs of the sultans are decked in the imperial mosques at Constantinople.

This much concerning the interior may be gleaned from the narratives of Badia (Ali Bey), a Spaniard who travelled as a Moslem, and Giovanni Tinati, the Italian, the only Christians who have entered the mosque since the Crusaders lost dominion here. Wishing to verify the truth of this statement, and having heard Said say that he had been in the mosque two years before, I asked him if he would not like to go in again; and, finding that

he understood what I wanted, I gave him money for the guards inside, and special instructions to assist him in his examinations. Upon his return I drew, under his direction, the accompanying diagram, to the correctness of which he constantly adhered, under the severest cross-



1. Entrances.
2. Covered passages ascending outside of the wall.
3. Tomb of Abraham.
4. Tomb of Sarah.

5. Tomb of Isaac.
6. Tomb of Joseph (so called).
7. Tomb of Jacob.
8. Entrance to the cave.

examination. I am satisfied it is accurate according to what he saw and learned. When I told him Joseph's tomb was not in Hebron, but at Nablous (Shechem), he replied, "I not know; so they told me when I asked whose tomb it was." And when I insisted there must be six tombs, he constantly averred there were but five. The diagram will go far to explain itself, but the following remarks are necessary in addition. The walls of the inner building Said described to be of granite, and without windows, the light being received from above, through depressed domes, supported by an unpainted framework of wood. I objected, and said it had once been

a church, and must have windows, to which he replied, "Then they must have been shut up, for there are none there now." Within the mosque were four rooms (marked 4, 5, 6, 7), built up in solid granite masonry, very high, but not covered, each having an iron door and iron grated window, through which the interior tomb could be seen. The four included tombs are similar, being rectangular, about seven feet long, four wide, and six high, and covered down to the richly-carpeted floor with rich green silks, on which passages of the Koran are embroidered in gold. A fifth tomb, adorned as the other four, and assigned to Abraham, stands in the middle, enclosed by open iron-work, finished with a lofty canopy, from which many antique glass lamps, with Latin inscriptions in gold, hang suspended over the tomb. I strongly objected to the Latin inscriptions on the lamps, and Said as strongly insisted on his accuracy, saying he knew they were Latin, because he had purchased two such lamps from the old Coptic church in Cairo for an English gentleman. The material, form, and inscriptions suggest that they may have been brought to Hebron by the Crusaders for the adornment of the church, now converted into a mosque.

Between the tombs of Abraham and Sarah (3, 4) is the entrance into the grotto below (8), which is reasonably held to be the "Cave of Machpelah." It is covered with the beautiful mosaic which forms the floor of the mosque. Said said that they told him, when he desired entrance and offered money, that no one was now permitted to descend into the cave, not even the holiest Moslem. The open spaces within the mosque are for prayer, particularly before the tomb of Abraham. Of this consecrated place Jacob said, when giving charge to his sons where to bury him, "There they buried Abra-

ham and Sarah his wife ; there they buried Isaac and Rebecca his wife ; and there I buried Leah.”—(Gen., xlix., 31.)

After dinner we strolled through the town. The streets are narrow, dirty, and dark, and the buildings much dilapidated. Many stalls, and even whole passages in the bazars, were unoccupied. The mutton, grapes, and bread were abundant and good. The population is variously estimated by travellers from 5000 to 10,000 ; perhaps there may be 7000, of which several hundred are miserably poor Jews, who linger around the home of their great progenitor, and drag out a wretched life, shut up in a dark, pestilential quarter of the town, where they have two small synagogues. We heard not of a single Christian inhabitant. The appearance of the streets and buildings suggests that population, trade, and wealth are decreasing. The city has not recovered from the terrible stroke inflicted upon it in 1834 by Ibrahim Pacha, when he took it by storm and gave it up to pillage, simply because the inhabitants resisted the Egyptian conscription, and wished to throw off the galling yoke of Mohammed Ali. As seen from a distance, the town is beautiful. The solid stone edifices, covered with white, flat roofs, each surmounted by a low, white dome, make an agreeable impression, but the illusion is dispelled the moment the traveller enters within the walls.

Upon our return to the tents, we observed a group of women, shrouded in white muslin, and sitting on the ground in silence around a new-made grave in the populous cemetery hard by. As the sun went down they slowly retired to the town, and at dark were replaced by a pack of jackals, that barked all night as if disappointed of their prey. Early in the morning the wom-

en returned, and resumed their seats in silence. It was a living commentary on the words, "She goeth unto the grave to weep there."

For three days we had been in the pastoral country of the Patriarchs, the scene of most of their good and great deeds; where, also, much of the romantic and perilous life of the youthful David had been spent up to the end of his seven years' reign in Hebron, before he reigned in Jerusalem. We were about to set our faces towards the Holy City. But there was a group of dusky men who lingered around us, and assisted to strike the tents and load the camels for the last time. Their own were standing near, haltered and harnessed. They seemed as if they could not part with us, yet they had no farther expectations; they had received their *buksheesh*, and were satisfied. They were our Alouins. For twelve days they had been our only companions—had served us by day and guarded us by night. We never expressed a wish they did not endeavour to gratify, and we were not conscious of having lost the value of a pin while under their protection. A friendship had grown up between them and us which made both parties somewhat sad at parting.* They mounted their camels and we our donkeys, and taking leave on the green hillside before Hebron, they disappeared in the valley southward, bound for their homes in the Desert, and we swept round the town to

* I am aware all this is at variance with the experience of most travellers. One might hope the Alouins have improved, certainly I think we succeeded in winning their confidence and esteem; but perhaps the great cause of our good fortune was, that owing to some ill treatment of an English nobleman and his party about eight months before, no Franks had passed through Wady Mousa during that time. The sheikhs held a congress, and agreed to treat all travellers well. We were the first under the new arrangement, and therefore were treated with great kindness and care, that our report to the consuls at Cairo might operate in their favour, and send them more travellers.

the north, and entered the valley of Eshcol, in which the spies cut the cluster of grapes under which two of them staggered as, on their shoulders suspended from a staff, they bore it away to the camp in Kadesh.—(Num., xiii., 23.)

CHAPTER XXII.

HEBRON TO JERUSALEM.

Route from Hebron.—Desolate Region.—Pools of Solomon.—The great Aqueduct.—Bethlehem.—Dilapidated Appearance of the Place.—Trade in pious Toys.—The Convent.—Roman Catholic Service.—Greek Service.—Tomb of Jerome.—Pretended Birthplace of Christ.—Tomb of Rachel.—First View of Jerusalem.—Disappointment.—Quarantine.—Kindness of Friends.—Carnival.—Negotiation.

For three quarters of an hour after leaving Hebron our road lay up the valley of Eshcol, between stone walls enclosing olive-groves and vineyards on either hand, extending up to the summits of the terraced hills. Emerging from this cultivated district, in an hour from Hebron we were in the midst of a rocky, desolate district, the hills covered with prickly oak so gnarled and crooked that I could not cut a good stick, and the ravines, rather than valleys, so uneven and rocky that our camels and donkeys had to walk all the time. Every few minutes appeared the ruins of a town, or a tower, or cisterns, while the steeps still retained traces of terrace walls. Doubtless this had once been a fertile and populous district. During five hours from Hebron we did not fall in with a single traveller; a shepherd now and then was seen on the hills, and as we approached Bethlehem, women were gathering sticks and binding them up in bundles, which they bore on their backs to Bethlehem and Jerusalem for fuel. Occasionally a huge Syrian camel was seen laden with a cord or more of wood, on the way to market.

Nearly five hours out from Hebron we came to three pools, in all respects similar to the great pool in Hebron,

except that they are perhaps three times as large and deep. They lie on the right of the road, in a gently declining valley, one above another, with perhaps two hundred feet intervening between them. At a little distance to the left of the road is a fountain, concealed by very ancient subterranean arches, from whence an aqueduct leads along the north sides of the pools, and being tapped to supply them with water, extends by Bethlehem to Jerusalem, winding around the sides of the hills and heads of the valleys so as to preserve its level until it sweeps round the southern declivity of Mount Zion and enters the Holy City. It is said that it might be easily repaired and made available for a supply of water. Of the antiquity of these pools no one can doubt. The style of their masonry, and the employment of earthenware cylinders in the construction of the aqueduct, may well support the opinion that they are the "Pools of Solomon." His "houses, vineyards, gardens, orchards, and trees of all kinds of fruit" (Eccl., ch. 2) have long since disappeared, the dance and the song with which they resounded have ceased, and silence reigns in their stead, broken only by the passing traveller.

Shortly after leaving the pools, from the summit of a ridge we suddenly descried the village of Bethlehem sitting like a crown of light on a distant hill. The sensation was as sudden and powerful as that experienced at the sight of Sinai, but how different ! The terrible front of Horeb inspired indescribable awe ; the light and airy vision of Bethlehem of Judea filled the heart with joy. I felt assured that all over those gray hills the heavenly glory had shined on the night of the Nativity, when the angel of the Lord proclaimed to the affrighted shepherds, "Behold, I bring you good tidings

of great joy, which shall be to all people : for unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord ;” and this joyous announcement was confirmed and celebrated by the sudden appearance of “ a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men.” I rode silently forward, seeming to hear the celestial music of the heavenly host as it swelled over the hills and expired far up amid the stars, when the divine choir returned into heaven to announce there the mysterious incarnation.

My reverie was broken by the halting of our caravan on the side of a hill where a rocky path diverges to the right, ascending to Bethlehem, while the larger track goes directly forward to Jerusalem. Thither camels and servants were sent to await us at the Jaffa Gate. We ascended the hill obliquely, and approached the “city of David” from the west, passing through olive-groves and vineyards covering the terraced hills, and forming a pleasing girdle around the town. At a distance Bethlehem looked well, but upon entering it the agreeable vision was dispelled. The principal street was narrow and dirty, bordered, not by regular lines of houses, but rather by confused masses of cracked arches, half arches, rent walls, and small, dark stone cells for shops. Here and there was a good house, apparently constructed from the fragments of former buildings, whose ruins form a labyrinth in which the inhabitants burrow rather than dwell. The town has not recovered from the storming and pillage of the Egyptian army in 1834. The population is wholly Christian, and amounts perhaps to 2500. They subsist on the produce of the hills and valleys around the town, and by a brisk trade in religious toys representing holy places,

persons, or events, carved in wood cut from places consecrated by tradition, or on shells and pearl, or moulded in lead, pewter, silver, or gold. These trinkets are generally exposed to sale in front of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, having been previously consecrated by laying them on the tomb of Jesus. The appearance of the people in the street selling their little commodities did not relieve the forbidding aspect of the town. There was an old man wrapped in a coarse, tattered garment, and sitting on the ground, with a bushel of dirty wheat lying on a foul cloth between his legs. He sold it by the gallon. Hard by, a coarse-looking woman was offering some oranges for sale, and another a little rice. We excited but little attention as we rode through the crowd to the convent on the northeast edge of the town.

The Convent is a fortress-like building, very irregular both without and within. Some parts of it are rather modern, and others very ancient, as the great church and chapels adjoining, the first of which is perhaps rightly ascribed to the Empress Helena. The nave has four rows of Corinthian pillars, upon which rests a framework of cedar supporting the roof. This gives it an unfinished, barn-like appearance. As we entered through a very small, strong door, the Catholic service was in progress in a side chapel, and although it was carelessly performed in unmeaning chant, yet it fell pleasantly on the ear, from its associations with the place and our holy religion. Our aged French pilgrim knelt on the marble floor, and crossed himself, but just as he raised his dim eyes to the great altar, the service closed. He seemed disappointed, and reluctantly rose from his knees. As we came out of the Latin chapel, we heard the sound of the services in the Greek chapel. Above all the

other parts of the chant were heard pronounced repeatedly and in an earnest tone, *Kurie eleison* (Lord have mercy on us). Standing as we were immediately over the grotto of the Nativity, it was with difficulty that we restrained ourselves from following the example of our Greek servant Georgio, who fell on his knees, and cried out in good earnest, *Kurie eleison, Kurie eleison*, a gush of tears attesting his sincerity.

Two or three monks offered their services to show us the consecrated grotto in the living rock below the church ; so, taking each a lighted taper, we descended to the chamber of St. Jerome, in which he resided while making the Vulgate version of the Scriptures, and in which he was laid to rest. His remains were afterward translated to Rome. Hard by are the tombs of Eusebius and the noble Paula. These are all rooms cut in the rock, and now lined with polished marble.

We were next conducted into the sacred crypt where the Saviour is said to have been born. The floor, sides, and ceiling are enclosed in finely-polished marbles. The precise spot of the Saviour's birth is marked by a brilliant star let into the floor, and encircled with a silver band, on which is inscribed, *Hic de Virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est*. As we approached the star, the once iron frame of our aged pilgrim-companion shook convulsively, and he dropped on his knees and crossed himself. His Italian servant knelt behind him, but our Greek hurried forward, prostrated himself hastily three times, pressing his head to the pavement near the star, and then crossed himself. The monks knelt with candles in their hands, and silence reigned for a few minutes. We stood in the background and looked on. The impression of that scene will never pass from me. There knelt a monk from Austria, another from Savoy,

a Greek from Thessaly, an Italian from Naples, a Frenchman from Lyons, while four strangers from the New World stood by, all intently looking on that lone bright star, *The Star of Bethlehem*.

About twenty feet from it, and two or three steps lower, is the *manger* where the Saviour was laid—a little marble arcade adorned with a small picture of the Adoration. Opposite to it is the miniature chapel of the Magi, with a picture. The whole crypt is thirty-seven feet long, eleven wide, and nine high, and constantly illuminated by thirty-two lamps of gold or silver, the gifts of various Christian princes. The grotto, as well as the great church above, is common to the Greeks, Latins, and Armenians, but each have their separate chapel and apartments in the convent.

I have thus stated the facts as they are. The reader is aware that they have exercised a powerful influence over the imaginations of millions for many centuries, simply from their association with the infant history of the Saviour of the world, the worshippers not stopping to inquire what Scripture and reason have to say in the case. That the grotto is not the spot of the Nativity is evident from the language of Scripture. Joseph and Mary had repaired to Bethlehem to be taxed, according to a decree of Augustus, because Christ “was of the house and lineage of David.” Upon their arrival they found the “inn” full, and were obliged to take up their lodgings in the first or ground story around the court, where is yet, in Eastern countries, the stable for the horses and mules of travellers, who find rooms for themselves in the “inn,” or next story above. While they remained there Jesus was born, and was laid in one of the stalls called a “manger,” because “there was no place for him in the inn,” or second story. This

language is perfectly intelligible in view of the ancient mode of building khans or "inns," the same that is still practised in the East, as we found everywhere. The conclusion therefore is, that Jesus was not born in a cave or grotto, but in the lower story of an inn, which beyond all question disappeared many centuries ago. To identify the precise spot of the Nativity is impossible. Perhaps the inn stood on the ground now occupied by the convent, but certainly no natural cave formed the stable belonging to it. Not only does the manner of constructing an inn in the East forbid this, but the geological conformation of the ridge at this point is against the supposition of a cave here. That the inn was on the ridge occupied by the present town, and somewhere within its precincts, cannot well be questioned; for it was in Bethlehem, which was always a village; and which, from the conformation of the ridge and the steep declivities on the north, east, and south, must always have occupied the same site.

It was "in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof," that the murder of the Innocents took place by command of Herod, in order to secure the death of the child Jesus, who was declared to be "born King of the Jews." As we stood on the esplanade of the convent, I cast my eyes over the valleys and hills where, 1844 years ago, was heard "the voice of lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning: Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not."—(Matt., ii., 18.) We were shown the altar of these innocents, in the sacred grotto under the convent, and were told that some of their remains are still preserved under it, within the iron grating.

Twenty minutes after leaving the convent we rejoined the direct road from Hebron to Jerusalem. near to



JERUSALEM FROM THE SOUTH.

SCULPTED BY A. PROUTHER.

the tomb of Rachel. It is a common Turkish oratory and tomb combined, being a square building of modern date, with a recessed porch at one end for prayer, while the other contains the tomb, surmounted by a dome. The whole building is whitewashed, thus contrasting agreeably with the gray, hard-featured limestone hills around. The Scriptural account of the death and burial of Rachel fixes their occurrence in this vicinity. It is in favour of the spot which tradition has assigned, that it is on the side of a hill, and not in a commanding position, where it would have been placed if capricious superstition had determined it. The Scripture history is exceedingly beautiful: "And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem. And Jacob set a pillar upon the grave: that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day."—(Gen., xxxv., 19, 20.)

Ascending from Rachel's tomb, we quickly gained the summit of the ridge on which is the Convent of Mar Elyas, and, casting our eyes northward, saw Mount Zion in full view, crowned with a mosque and the tomb of David. In a few minutes the magnificent domes which surmount Moriah came in sight; and beyond them, to the right, the Mount of Olives swelled up, crowned with the ruined Church of the Ascension. Not an exclamation escaped from the company at this long-desired sight. The feeling was too profound to find utterance. We advanced in silence; and though the city was at hand, no hum came from it on the breeze. The hills around were stony and desolate, with many ancient ruins, which imparted to them a yet more impressive air of desolation: no human dwellings, no herds, no gardens enlivened the prospect. We advanced directly towards the southwest corner of the city,

which rests on Mount Zion, close under which the deep ravine of the Gihon sweeps on the west and south. It is filled with an olive grove ; and, as we descended into it, close on our left three venerable Jews were in earnest converse under an ancient tree, casting now and then a hasty and threatening glance at the crescent which floated proudly above them from the ancient tower of David. We ascended a short, steep path towards the Jaffa portal, impatient to exclaim, "Our feet stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem," when, to our great surprise, we found ourselves suddenly arrested, and our camels and servants in strict quarantine without the walls. After we had left Egypt, thirty-seven days before, the plague had appeared at Alexandria ; and although we had been most effectually quarantined in the Desert, and Mr. Young, the English consul, who happened to come out at the instant on horseback, spoke in our favour, it was all of no avail. We were marched within the walls, under guard—masters, servants, camel and donkey men, camels, donkeys, and all ; and, turning to the left, were conducted to the northwest angle of the city, where we found a large space sown in wheat, on the edge of which we pitched our tent. Close at hand was a ruined mosque, which had been just before used as a stable, in which the French pilgrim, all the servants, and luggage found place, while the donkey and camel men from Hebron, together with their beasts, were stowed away below.

Though we were vexed at the loss of time, offended at the heaps of manure at our tent door, and exasperated at the herds of yelping and fighting dogs all around us, yet we were amused at the impatience of the Arabs and the lofty gravity of the camels under their confinement. The donkeys were restless, and, escaping from

their careless keepers, revenged themselves on the wheat patches. True, this was a very unexpected and unpilgrim-like introduction into Jerusalem; yet we made up our minds to be as contented as possible, and found much relief in the kind messages of Mrs. Whiting, inquiring how we fared, and whether she could serve us, in the absence of Mr. W. at Beyrout; and in the early and very friendly calls of Mr. Nicolayson, the estimable Church Missionary from England, and of W. R. Young, Esq., the English consul. We were much indebted to the kindness of these gentlemen, who treated us as if we had been their own countrymen and friends. They sent our letters to Beyrout by their special messengers, and inquired what they could do to serve us. Mr. Young kindly offered to see the Pacha himself to secure our release, or an abatement of the time of quarantine, and sent us London papers, which we ran over with great eagerness, at first perusing those passages only in which the words America, United States, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh occurred. How dear is our country when we are far away from it!

Although we were in quarantine, yet we were not forbidden to ascend the western wall of the city, and traverse the ramparts from the northwest angle to the Jaffa Gate. It was near the close of the Carnival, and Lent was about to commence. Every afternoon the whole Christian population, in their merriest mood and gayest attire, poured out of the city and spread themselves amid the olive groves in the valley of the Gihon, and on the declivities of Mount Zion, dispersed in groups under the trees, the men and women apart. On the surrounding heights to the west and south of the Gihon, the boys were playing with great glee, and the youth

were even noisy in their sports. Each group was supplied with refreshments of fruits and sweetmeats. The dress of the women was peculiar: each one was wholly enveloped in what seemed to be a large white sheet, falling in folds to the ground, as if thrown over a statue to conceal it or defend it from the dust. No part of the person was visible except the face, occasionally, when the small white or coloured veil was removed. As the sun went down, the various groups of women broke up, and, wrapped in their snow-white vestments, looked like so many lengthened lines of vestal virgins ascending from the Gihon towards the gate. They were followed by the boys and young men, who made rude music, to which they kept time by clapping of hands. Now and then a spirited chant broke from the multitude, mingled with discharges of firearms amid the crowds. As the last rays of the sun gilded the domes and minarets of the mosques, the mass quickened its movement, and became denser as it pressed into the city through the massive winding portal, and disappeared gradually in the narrow, dark streets, when, in half an hour, an oppressive silence reigned throughout the town.

The result of Mr. Young's application to the Pacha for our release from quarantine, or, at least, an abatement of the time, was the reference of the case to the physician, a very gentlemanly Italian. Our Greek servant, the very practicable Georgio Carracchi, insisted that there was no danger in discharging us, and that he was instructed to say *we would be grateful*, which any Italian understands. Then we learned that we should be released in seven days, the day we entered in the evening and the day we should go out in the morning being counted. At the end of the seven days the physician

appeared, and intimated that he looked for his reward ; but George told him it was promised on condition that we should have been released at the time, and, as this was not done, he would not give him a piastre. We were not privy to these transactions at the time.

CHAPTER XXIII.

JERUSALEM.—WALK I.

The City Walls.—Walking under Guard.—General View of the City.—Valleys.—Hills.—*Bezetha*.—Its Appearance.—*Moriah*.—The Mosque of Omar.—*Zion*.—*Akra*.—Gloomy Appearance of the City.—The Environs.—The Mount of Olives.—Upper Pool of Gihon.—Lower Pool.—Hill of Offence.

IT was irksome, indeed, to be thus detained five days from treading the streets of the Holy City, and visiting its consecrated places; but we found full employment for the first two in writing letters and bringing up our journals. On the third and subsequent days we were permitted to walk round the walls, under the conduct of a guard, and thus we commanded every possible view of the city, and of nearly every spot of interest in the vicinity.

As it is not my intention to go into a topographical or antiquarian description of Jerusalem, but merely to present the reader with as clear an account as possible of what I saw myself, I shall narrate the several *Walks* which I took in and around the city, describing briefly the objects that presented themselves in detail. By inspecting Mr. Bartlett's excellent plan of Jerusalem which accompanies this volume, the reader will be able, I trust, to obtain a distinct conception of the general character of the city, and the many objects of interest both within and without the walls.

WALK I.

AROUND THE WALLS.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS.

Our tent was pitched within the angle of the wall



JERUSALEM.

Scale of Feet.
0 500 1000 1500

west of the Latin Convent, at the point marked A in the Plan. On the third morning of our quarantine we obtained leave, as I have said, to walk upon the walls, and immediately took advantage of it. Ascending by one of the many flights of steps that give access to them, we passed along upon the top northeastwardly, until our progress was arrested by the Damascus Gate. Descending, we passed rapidly through the street, our guard hurrying before us with vast importance, and driving away all passers-by for fear of infection. Ascending the wall again east of the gate, we walked on to the northeast angle and thence southward to St. Stephen's Gate, near to which the wall joins the Temple area, which we could not pass.

This walk was one of great interest. The walls, as the Plan will show, present many angles, and vary in height with the inequalities of the ground, from twenty to sixty feet. At the bottom they are from eight to ten feet thick, but towards the top they are twice drawn in, forming successive terraces for the convenience of the defenders. The upper terrace forms the promenade, and the wall rises above it, on the outside, in a parapet, with battlements and loopholes. At convenient distances square towers are carried up above the battlements. By mounting these towers we could command, in the course of our walks, complete views of every part of the city and environs.

Retracing our steps to the point from which we had departed, we walked along the wall southeast to the Citadel, where we had to descend again into the streets. As but a small portion of the wall intervenes between the Citadel and the Zion Gate, our guard permitted us to make the circuit of the Armenian Convent through the street, and went through the same active flourishes

with his cudgel as before, driving all street-walkers out of our way. Ascending the walls again, we passed along them over the Tyropæon to the point of their termination upon the south wall of the Temple area. By this walk we completed the entire circuit of the walls, which, including the temple area, are nearly three miles in circumference. From any one of the many towers that stud them we could obtain a good view of the city, but we found that by far the best point of observation was at the northeast angle, the point marked B in the Plan. Let the reader take his stand with us here, and look over the city below. We see that the ground on which it lies is very unequal, but yet that it is clearly divided into four distinct parts by two valleys, the first commencing in the plain about the Damascus Gate (in the northern wall), the second opening from the Citadel, first eastwardly, and then turning to the south, called the Valley of the Tyropæon, or Cheesemakers. Four hills are thus distinguished, forming as many distinct quarters of the city, *Bezetha*, *Akra*, *Zion*, and *Moriah*. Our point of observation is on *Bezetha*. It is separated from *Akra* on the west by the depression before spoken of, now much less deep than formerly, because filled up by the successive ruins of many centuries, and from *Moriah* on the south, by a similar, though much smaller depression, extending to St. Stephen's Gate in the eastern wall. The Hill of *Bezetha* is highest on the west side, and breaks down in the northeast and east towards the brow of the Valley of *Jehoshaphat*. There are some gardens and olive-trees scattered over the hill, and the houses are few and ruinous, except in the west and south, towards *Akra* and *Moriah*, where they are more numerous. As seen from our point of observation, the whole inhabited quarter

of Bezetha looked like a labyrinth of sunken arches and broken walls.

Moriah, the southeastern quarter, is occupied principally by the great Mosque of Omar and its dependencies. Its shining walls, towering dome and minaret, are distinctly in sight, and form by far the most striking feature of our view. East of the quadrangle of the Haram the hill sinks suddenly to the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

Zion, separated from Moriah by the Valley of the Tyropœon, is the highest of the four hills. It was formerly the most splendid portion of the city, containing the palace of its greatest monarch; but its area is now limited by the walls, within which the Armenian Convent is the most striking object, and that nothing remarkable in an architectural point of view.

Akra, the northwestern hill, is next in height to Zion, and is, indeed, a part of the great ridge extending northwest of the city. This is the best built part of the town. Near the crest of the hill stands the Latin Convent, and on its steep declivity, to the southeast, the Greek Convent adjoining the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Although we enjoyed from our point of view a near and good prospect of the city, it must not be supposed that we obtained any such conception of it as can be had by overlooking any modern-built town, with wide streets and open squares. You can see nothing but the upper parts of blank stone walls, and the flat, plastered roofs, finished in every case with low, closed domes. The aspect of the city is thus at once strange and gloomy. No streets are visible, no busy throngs, no bustle of life and trade; nor does even the hum of business, that stirring yet solemn sound which generally rises from a city crowded with life, strike upon the ear.

Near the walls, both within and without the city, are to be seen patches of wheat and prickly pear; wherever the ancient rubbish has been thoroughly decomposed, it produces a rich soil, which is ploughed and sowed. Without the city, the hills are generally barren and rocky; though, wherever the soil is good enough, the stones are gathered into piles to admit of the tillage of the ground. On the north there are many of these cultivated spots, and scattered olive-trees give something of a rural appearance to the scene. Looking to the northeast, up the Valley of Jehoshaphat, we see a far more cheerful sight; the sides of the valley, and the plain into which it opens, are covered with corn-fields, vineyards, and gardens. Turning our view eastward, the eye rests upon the best authenticated spots in the Christian antiquities of Jerusalem—places full of the holiest and most solemn associations. Beneath the ridge at our feet lies the Valley of Jehoshaphat, through which, in the rainy season, flows the little brook Kedron. From it rises suddenly the Mount of Olives, across whose rugged surface winds the path to Bethany, so often trodden by the feet of Jesus, and on its brow appears the ruined Church of the Ascension. In all substantial features the hill is just what it was in the time of Christ; time can have made few changes in its hard proportions. The terraces and gardens that formerly adorned it are gone; the gay dwellings that enlivened it have crumbled; and but a few olive-trees, scattered here and there, remain to show the propriety of the name of Olivet. But the precious memories that belong to the hill so often trodden by the Saviour of men will never be effaced: no Christian can gaze upon it without the deepest emotion.

Let us now return to our stand—point (A), in the angle

of the wall west of the Latin Convent. To the north and west is the open plain, on which, in all time, the besiegers of Jerusalem have marshalled their forces for the attack. Here lay the camp of Titus in that memorable siege which ended in the utter destruction of the Temple of the Lord. Here, too, in the days of the Crusades, Godfrey de Bouillon and Tancred formed their lines of warriors, burning to dispossess the Saracens of the Sacred City. Turning to the west, we see, at no great distance, the upper Pool of Gihon, with its solid walls of ancient masonry sunk deep in the valley, and just north of it the Turkish cemetery, full of monuments and tombs. Between it and the walls we trace the opening of the Valley of Gihon, which takes the name of Hinnom lower down, makes the circuit of Mount Zion, and unites southeast of the city with the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

Let us take now another point of view (C), in the southwest angle of the wall, on the very brow of Zion. Just at our feet, to the west, is the shelving brink of the hill, falling away into the Valley of Gihon. The ruinous masonry of the lower Pool of Gihon is seen at a little distance westward, and near it the road to Bethlehem winds up out of the valley. On the south, the summit of the hill of Zion stretches for some distance beyond the walls, and on it we see the cemeteries for strangers, and the Saracenic-looking building known as the Tomb of David. Looking across over the gorge of Hinnom, we see the *Hill of Evil Counsel*, a bold and precipitous height, rising suddenly just opposite to Zion. Turning to the south and east, we look down the side of Zion, which here rapidly declines to the Tyropæon and Hinnom: its rugged surface ill commemorates the mount which the royal poet sung as "beautiful for situ-

ation, the joy of the whole earth." On the angle of the cliff that borders Hinnom on the southeast, we see the gloomy charnel-house of the *Aceldama*, or Field of Blood. Due east, in the eastern cliff of Jehoshaphat, appears the Turkish village of *Siloam*, made up principally of tombs anciently cut in the hillside, which are now occupied as dwellings by the wretched Arabs. Farther on rises the *Hill of Offence*, so called because Solomon worshipped idols in its high places.

I have thus rapidly sketched the general views of the city and its environs to be obtained from different points on the walls. If the reader has carefully accompanied his perusal of it by an inspection of the map, I think he will have obtained a tolerably correct idea of the localities.

CHAPTER XXIV.

JERUSALEM.—WALK II.

TO THE TOMBS OF THE JUDGES, AND DOWN THE VALLEY
OF JEHOSEPHAT.

Great Plains Northwest of the City.—Tombs of the Judges.—Why so called.—Course of the Valley of Jehoshaphat.—Tombs of the Kings.—Various Apartments.—Pleasant Rural Scene.—Tomb of the Virgin Mary.—Tomb of Absalom.—Of Jehoshaphat.—Of St. James.—Of Zechariah.—Cemetery of the Jews.—Village of Siloam.—Potter's Field.

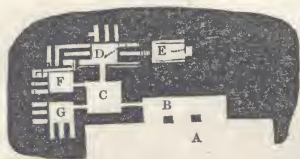
WE issued from the Damascus Gate, in the northern wall, under the conduct of our guardian Mustapha, for an excursion on the great plain north and west of the city. The whole space between the present wall and the site of the ancient third wall (marked on the map by a dotted line) was formerly occupied by the city. Everywhere are to be found traces of tombs, buildings, and subterranean arches and cisterns. We took first the northwest road, that leads to the *Tombs of the Judges*. These are situated at about half an hour's distance from the Damascus Gate, a little to the right of the path, and not far from the head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. They are cut in the limestone rock, in the midst of a thousand others, lying on both sides of the valley, and on the ridge between it and Wady Beit Hannina. As the rock has no great elevation, the tombs were near the surface, and most of them are now laid open from above by the destruction of the superincumbent stone; and even those whose chambers and niches are entire, have lost the sculptured doors which closed them. Having just come from Petra, I could not but notice the general resemblance between the tombs around that remarkable place and those before us. If

Jerusalem had been surrounded, like Petra, with lofty, precipitous cliffs, its sepulchral monuments would have been as much more striking as the one city was superior to the other. The same genius and the same feelings produced the tombs in both places. Those at Petra had more external ornament, because there was sufficient breadth and elevation of rock to allow of complete sculptures; but the tombs at Jerusalem are much better finished and more appropriate in the interior. The chambers are generally smaller, as are the niches, which are frequently cut out of the rock one above the other, so as to present the end of the coffin instead of the side, as at Petra.

The Tombs of the Judges are so called, perhaps, without any better reason than that they contain nearly seventy niches, the round number of the Jewish Sanhedrim. The present entrance is a wide portal, cut in the solid rock, with a beautifully sculptured pediment above; the chambers within are numerous, and are all pierced for coffins, with niches whose ends present upon the chambers. In front of the portal a noble arch formerly sprung from the living rock, which was hewn into buttresses on each side; the southern buttress, still in its place, bears part of the span.

From the Tombs of the Judges we descended the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which holds a course nearly due east for some distance. It is literally covered with loose stones, which are occasionally gathered to make room for a little tillage. Turning to the right, after crossing the Nablous road, we came in a few moments to the remarkable sepulchre called the *Tomb of Helena*, and also the *Tomb of the Kings*. Its structure is unique. By following the annexed Plan the reader may understand readily the account which follows:

The exterior is a sunken court (A), about 90 feet square, and perhaps formerly 25 deep, as it is now about 18, though much filled up with rubbish. Parallel

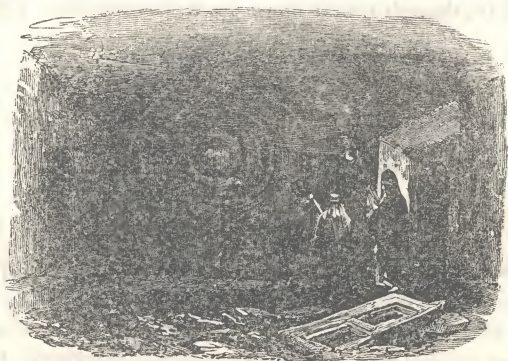


to this court, on the south, is a trench, descending by an inclined plane from west to east, to the same depth as the court, between which and the trench a wall of some eight feet thick intervenes. This wall is pierced at the bottom of the trench into an arched doorway, which gives entrance to the court.

Out of the western wall of the court a portico is hewn (B), measuring, according to Robinson, 39 feet long by 17 wide and 15 high. It was supported by columns which are now broken away. The architrave is beautifully sculptured in vine-leaves and clusters of grapes. At the southern end of the portico is the entrance to the sepulchre, by a small doorway two and a half by four feet, much choked with stones and rubbish. The first room is a fine hall (C), $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 19,* used, not for sepulture, but merely as an antechamber. Its walls are hewn out of the solid rock, smooth and clean. From the west side of this hall a narrow passage leads into a room (D) $13\frac{1}{4}$ feet square, with three recesses on each side for the reception of coffins, making nine in all. The central doors are much higher and larger than the others, as exhibited in the following cut. That on the north leads through a crypt into another large chamber (E), containing frag-

* For all the dimensions here given I am indebted to Dr. Robinson.

ments of sarcophagi, richly sculptured in fruits and flowers.



In the southwest corner of the antechamber is a second passage, leading to the chamber (F), 13 feet by 13½, with six niches, three on the west side and three on the south. Here, as in the other chamber, the middle niche is larger than the others. The last chamber (G) in the southeast corner is 11 feet 2 inches by 12 feet, smaller than any of the others, and has six niches for bodies. This room and the last are distinguished from the others by a raised platform or divan running all around them.

The short passages were once closed by doors of stone opening *inward*, which were suspended by tenons and mortices above and below. Maundrell mentions seeing one of these in its place, and it remained even to the time of Mr. Stephens's visit; but they are now all displaced, and lie in fragments about the floors. The stone of the doors is not that of the rock around: a sufficient refutation of the idea entertained by some writers that they were cut out of the living rock, apart from the impossibility of the thing itself.

Dr. Robinson has investigated, with his usual learning and ability, the question whether this sepulchre is not in reality the Tomb of Helena, queen of Adiabene, who became a convert to the Jewish faith, and resided for a time at Jerusalem. His argument is well presented, and for some minds is conclusive; but it still remains an open question whether the sepulchre was not constructed by Herod, the most splendid of the Jewish monarchs, who introduced the Roman architecture quite extensively into Jerusalem, and attempted, though without success, to form a permanent taste for it among the people.

Leaving this remarkable sepulchre, we continued our walk eastward down the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which turns southwardly almost at a right angle opposite the northeast extremity of the city, and spreads out into a wide area filled with cornfields and vineyards, of which I have before spoken. Tombs are excavated on both sides of it until you arrive at the extremity of the city wall, when they cease on the right-hand side, but continue farther down on the left. At St. Stephen's Gate the right bank is very steep and elevated, reaching to the height of nearly 100 feet. In the deep bottom of the valley nearly opposite to this gate we found the reputed tomb of the Virgin Mary. It is a large cave or grotto excavated from the rock. A church of some pretension is erected over it, into which you descend from the south and east by broad flights of marble steps. As we had no faith in the legends of the place, and had not much time to spare, we did not enter the grotto. A rough, boorish pilgrim, with his wife and children, coarse and swarthy, were standing at some distance off in the road, reverently gazing upon the tomb, and crossing themselves with much apparent devotion.

Just south of the Tomb of Mary is the Garden of Gethsemane, a description of which will be given in another place. The valley now becomes narrower, and its walls on either side are steep and lofty, the left-hand side being a precipitous cliff of limestone. In this cliff is to be found the most remarkable collection of sepulchral monuments about Jerusalem, some of them being excavations from the rock with small openings towards the temple area, others detached from the cliff and ornamented with sculpture. The first on the north, the Tomb of Absalom, is a square block hewn from the solid ledge of rock, which is cut away around it. The upper part of the design, which is completed in masonry, is a small cupola of singular form. This tomb is adorned on each side with Ionic columns. The proper entrance to it is unknown, if, indeed, there ever was any: there is a hole high up in the western side, into which stones have been cast by passers-by, until the body of the sepulchre has nearly been filled up with them. Behind this tomb is that of Jehoshaphat, which is simply an excavation in the rock. The next tomb in the face of the cliff, south of Absalom's, is that of St. James, also an excavated grotto, but high up in the cliff, and having a sculptured frieze over the portal, which is supported by two Doric columns in the centre, and two square ones at the ends. The fourth and last tomb, that of Zechariah, is, like Absalom's, a square block cut out of the living stone, and ornamented with columns and a pyramid. Its proportions are by no means elegant. Its height is perhaps 35 feet. As no opening has ever been discovered in this structure, it is considered to be monumental rather than sepulchral. Perhaps there is a vault below, the access to which is now lost.

There is no probability whatever that these tombs

belonged to the persons whose names they bear. Their architectural character, blending the Greek, Roman, and Egyptian styles, indicates an origin later than the Christian era; perhaps about the same date as those of Petra, to some of which they bear a striking resemblance. Even Chateaubriand gives up their genuineness on these grounds.

Just below these monuments is the graveyard of the Jews. With heartfelt sadness I cast my eye over this chosen resting-place of God's forsaken people. It is an unenclosed space, literally strewn with short, rough stones, each covering an humble grave: they lie as if a storm had prostrated and pressed them to the earth. Many of them have short inscriptions in Hebrew, some of which are almost obliterated, while others are recent and legible. To this resting-place the heart of the Jew in every quarter of the world turns with longing: here lie his fathers, and here, on the declivity of Olivet, over against his beloved Temple, he too desires to lie when his pilgrimage is ended.

We followed the ravine southward to the village of Siloam, a miserable abode of miserable Arabs, in the cliff on the left side. A number of rude huts appear to hang on the face of the rock: behind them are sepulchral chambers, which now form the abodes of many of these wretched beings. The living have cast out the dead, and taken up their residence among the tombs; but, indeed, such wretched specimens of humanity were they, that a miracle like a resurrection would be necessary to raise them to the dignity of man. Along the west side of the valley there are no ancient cemeteries, neither Jews nor Christians having ever thus approached the Temple; but close under the walls of the temple area, on a small level space on the brow of the hill, there are many Moslem tombs.

A quarter of a mile south of the Temple wall, the Valley of Hinnom, the prolongation of that of Gihon, having swept round the base of Zion, descends rapidly to the Kedron. On its south side, near its junction with the latter valley, there is a high plot of rocky ground running along the base of the still higher cliffs which ascend gradually to the summit of the Hill of Evil Counsel. On this plateau, some 40 or 50 feet above the bed of the Gihon, is the Aceldama, or Potter's Field of Scripture. The spot is tolerably well ascertained. A charnel-house, partly of masonry, and partly excavated from the rock, remains here in ruins: it was formerly used for the burial of strangers and pilgrims, but it has long since been abandoned. Groups of people were amusing themselves on the hillside: the strains of their rude music were re-echoed from the ruined tombs that yawned around on every side.

CHAPTER XXV.

JERUSALEM.—WALK III.

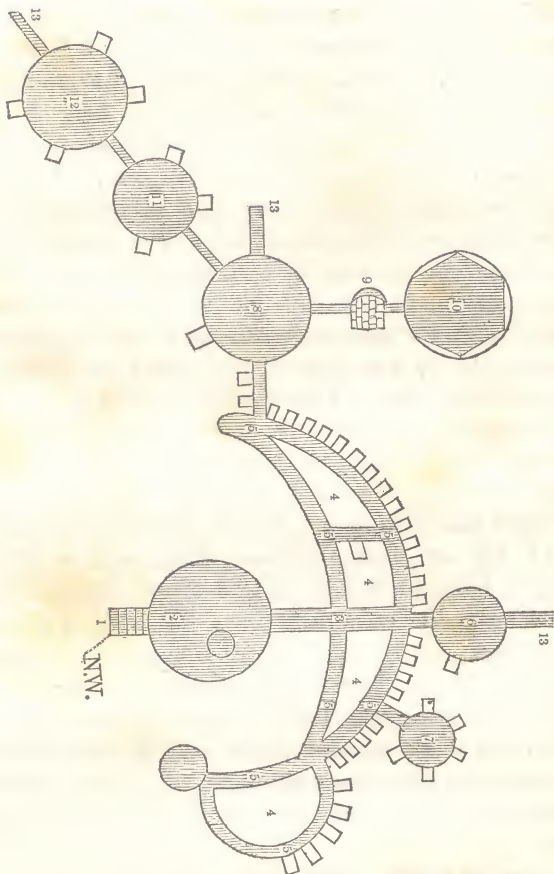
EXCURSION TO BETHANY.

Damascus Gate.—Turkish Soldiers.—Grotto of Jeremiah.—Road to Bethany.—Tombs of the Prophets.—Various Chambers and Excavations.—Path trodden by the Feet of Christ.—Scenes of his Walks.—Of his Entry into Jerusalem.—Of his Weeping over Jerusalem.—Of the Ascension.—Convent of Black Nuns.—Friendship of Jesus and Lazarus.—Remains of the Church of the Ascension.

AFTER an early breakfast, we set out under the guidance of Mustapha, whom we always found very intelligent and useful, for an excursion to Bethany. It was the last day of our quarantine, and the restrictions under which we had been placed were very much relaxed, so that we were allowed to thread our way through the by-streets of the city to the Damascus Gate, from which we issued in the wake of a troop of soldiers, who marched out, in no very elegant style, to very indifferent music. When we had passed through the massive portal, they turned to the left, and we to the right in order to visit the Grotto of Jeremiah, which lies just without the city wall on the north, in a high cliff, evidently formed by cutting through the northern portion of the ridge of Bezetha. A wall, badly built of hewn stones and fragments of a former superior building, enclosed the entrance to the cave. We knocked at the low portal, closed by a rude door, and were admitted. A small space of ground within contains a little hut, and a garden with a few trees; a man and two or three women and children were the inhabitants. The

cave was so excavated as to leave a large natural pillar in the middle to support the roof: the area within is divided by coarse walls into two or three separate sections. We found nothing of interest, except the obvious fragments of an extensive and superior structure once existing here. The legend is, that Jeremiah once resided in this grotto, and his couch is shown—a ledge cut out of the rock, six or eight feet from the ground. The grotto is much venerated by Jews, Moslems, and Romanists. To the south, near the city wall, a deep, dirty pond, with some broken arches, is shown as the prison in which the prophet was detained by Zedekiah: a few Turks were watering their horses from it as we passed.

Turning the northeast corner of the city, we passed along the brow of Jehoshaphat, by the wall, to St. Stephen's Gate, and there descending into the valley, struck into the road to Bethany, which crosses the Kedron by a small bridge of one arch, just below the Tomb of the Virgin, and winds southeastwardly around the southern base of the Mount of Olives, between it and the Hill of Offence. We turned from this road, a little above the Tomb of Absalom, into a footpath which leads over the mount to Bethany, in order to visit the Tombs of the Prophets, which lie a few paces south of the path, about half way up the declivity of Olivet. As they are rarely visited by travellers, and have never been very accurately described, I determined to see and make a plan of them, if possible. In a field of wheat I found two circles of loose stones, rudely piled up, enclosing two approaches to the tombs, which lie entirely underground. You descend the principal entrance (marked 1 in the Plan) by a flight of six or eight steps, very much encumbered with rubbish, and first enter an ante-



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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Principal Entrance. 2. Circular Antechamber, with second entrance in ceiling. 3. Passage. 4. Solid Blocks. 5. Passage, with niches for coffins. 6. Unfinished Chamber, one tomb. 7. Chamber, with five niches near ceiling. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Unfinished Chamber, one tomb, and passage unfinished. 9. Space overlaid with stones, as if to close a former entrance. 10. Chamber, polygonal, affording ledges for coffins above the floor. 11, 12. Chambers with tombs. 13. Unfinished Passages. |
|--|---|

chamber (2), nearly circular in form, whose height varies from eight to ten feet, the rock appearing to have fallen down in some places. In the ceiling of this chamber is the second entrance, which we had seen above, surrounded with its circle of stones: it is a hole of about four feet diameter, cut in the rock, like an opening into a cistern. From this chamber a passage (3) leads in a right line forward, and others (5, 5) diverge from it in curved lines to the right and left. The blocks (4, 4, 4) between these passages seem to have been designed for tombs, but only one niche is cut in the corner of one of them; the rest were never finished. In the extreme passage (5, 5) are most of the niches for coffins, as shown in the Plan. The opening of each is on a level with the pavement, but the niche itself is sunk $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet below, with a ledge on each side to support a slab which covered the tomb. The small doorways seem to have been left open. In the chambers marked (6, 8, 11, 12) are similar niches. That marked (7) has five, all near the ceiling, instead of on a level with the pavement; while chamber 10 is excavated into a polygonal form, having five ledges, or benches for coffins, above the floor. In the passage (9) is a space overlaid with large hewn stones, as if to close a former entrance. Such are these singular tombs, simple, unornamented excavations from the solid rock. I do not know on what ground they are called the Tombs of the Prophets.

Leaving these subterranean sepulchres, we struck southwardly again into the camel-road leading to Bethany. The steepness of the Mount of Olives on the left, and of the Hill of Offence on the right, necessarily fixes the location of this road: it must always have passed, as it does now, over these rugged rocks, occasionally

cut away to form a channel for the road. It is worn smooth and slippery in many places by thirty centuries of travel. Our Saviour trod this very path many times, at sunset, on his way from Jerusalem to rest with his friends at Bethany, and in the morning, on his return to warn and instruct the devoted city. In this we could not be mistaken. Here was no monkish tradition to make one doubt, by its absurdities, that which might indeed be true: the Scripture history has given the story; the everlasting hills and the enduring rock attest it. I felt that my feet were pressing the very ground which the Lord of Life and Glory had trod both in sorrow and in triumph. From one of the ridges on the southern slope of Olivet we had a good view of the city. Winding round the base of the hill to the east, we arrived at the miserable little village *El-Aziriyeh*, which occupies the site of Bethany, the home of our Saviour, if, indeed, he can be said to have had a home on earth. We had thus passed over the ground on which occurred the events described in Matthew, chap. xxi., and Luke, xix. As our Lord went up to Jerusalem from Jericho, after he had abode in the house of Zaccheus the publican, he came, according to the narrative, about to the very spot on which we stood, overlooking Bethany. Down the southeast base of Olivet descends a deep gully, on the west side of which I suppose Bethany to have stood, while Bethphage lay "over against it," on the east side. "And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the Mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples, saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway you shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her; loose them, and bring them unto me."—(Matt., xxi., 1, 2.) But from Luke, xix., 29, we learn

that the village thus spoken of was "Bethany." Here, then, commenced the triumphal entry of CHRIST into Jerusalem. The ass was brought, and they set JESUS thereon, and the triumphal procession moved towards the city. "A very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees and strewed them in the way." The excited multitude accompanied the Saviour, with songs, rejoicings, and hosannahs, until the hills and olive-groves re-echoed with their mighty voices. As they wound round to the western side of Olivet, and probably when they reached the ridge from which the first clear view of the city could be obtained, with the glorious Temple in the foreground, and the beauty of Zion in the distance, the "whole multitude," conscious of the presence of the Lord of the Temple and the King of Zion, kindled at the sight, and "began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice." Their shouts of "Hosanna to the Son of David! Hosanna in the highest!" reverberated from the heights of Olivet, broke against the Temple wall, and rolled up the steep declivity of Zion, until "all the city was moved," exclaiming, "Who is this?" Ah! had they but *known* who it was! It was from this ridge of Olivet, too, in all probability, that "when he was come near, he beheld the city," and, even amid the irrepressible shouts of the multitude that thronged around him, "wept over it." Silenced by the tears and sympathy of their Master, they listened to his tender reproaches and solemn warnings to the rebellious yet beloved city: "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! But now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and

keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee: and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation.”—(Luke, xix., 41–44.)

The precise spot of the ascension of Christ, of course, cannot be known; but the narrative in Luke (chap. xxiv.) and Acts (chap. x.) gives a touching and beautiful recital of the last conversation of the Saviour with his disciples, and tells us that it occurred as he led them out from Jerusalem “*as far as to Bethany.*” It was over this same path, hewn in the rocky side of Olivet, along which I was passing, that CHRIST had thus communed, for the last time, with his faithful ones. How did my heart dilate as I walked, and called to mind portions of that blessed conversation: “Behold, I send the promise of my Father unto you.” “But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.” I felt my commission renewed, and, for a moment, was anxious to be far away; “for they would not hear me there,” as I repeated the last charge of the Master: “Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature: he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned.”—(Mark, xvi., 15, 16.)

Absorbed in these inspiring thoughts, I crossed the low ridge descending from Olivet, on the east side of which Bethany was situated. On the rocky table-land overlooking the village the Saviour would naturally have paused when he led his disciples out “*as far as to Bethany.*” Nothing is said of his entering the village or ascending Olivet to any higher point before the As-

cension. Here, then, probably his feet pressed this earth for the last time. The disciples had received their last commission, and with it the assurance that neither serpents nor poison should harm them, but that when they suffered they should suffer “as witnesses” for their Lord; they had been promised plenary powers from on high by the gift of the Holy Spirit: the triumph of the Kingdom of Christ, through their instrumentality, had been “set before them” as a lofty and inspiring hope; and now the time of separation was at hand. It was in the height of the joy which his conversation had awakened in them that CHRIST chose to leave his steadfast followers. The last action, significant of his ever-abounding love, left them a sweet remembrance: “He lifted up his hands, and blessed them; and it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven.” The associations of the place were indeed sweet, though overwhelming. I felt truly “the power of CHRIST’S resurrection” as I gazed upon the spot, where its import was fully realized in his triumphant ascension “to the right hand of the Majesty on high.”

My companions had walked on a hundred yards or so, and sat down by a cistern cut in the rock, just below the gloomy ruins of a tower which once protected the splendid Convent of Black Nuns, erected here in the twelfth century by Melesinda, queen of Fulco, who received the Plains of Jericho as its rich endowment. I reclined near them under an olive, and from the rapture of the Ascension my feelings melted down to sweet and tender thoughts upon the most hallowed and affectionate friendship—the friendship between our Saviour and Lazarus, of whom and his two sisters it is said, “Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister, and Lazarus.” The

reputed house and tomb of Lazarus are shown here, after the usual manner of the monks. There is not the slightest ground for belief in their genuineness. They are placed within the village; but the Jews never deposited their dead among the living; besides, the Scripture clearly indicates that the grave lay outside of the village, towards Jerusalem. When Martha and Mary went forth to meet the Lord as he came from Jerusalem, the Jews said, "She goeth to the grave to weep there." It may have been one of the open-mouthed tombs that we saw cut in the rock by the wayside, out of which, at the words, "Lazarus, come forth!" "he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes."—(John, xi., 44.)

The Divine visitation has fallen as heavily on Bethany as on Jerusalem. The soil is swept from the hills around her, once clad in verdure, but now rock-paved and desolate; and the pleasant villages of Bethany and Bethphage have dwindled into a miserable hamlet of some twenty stone huts and a few black tents, inhabited by as many families of swarthy Arabs, who flock around you and urge you to drink water from their coarse earthen jars, in the hope of a *buksheesh*, which they demand, indeed, before the refreshing draught blesses your lips. Their ancestors, in the days of Abraham, would have washed your feet and scorned a reward for it. Two things only remained unchanged on this spot, the form of the everlasting hills, and the generous and beneficent olive-tree, which has adorned the hillside from time immemorial.

Our Mustapha had hid himself among the stone hovels of Bethany. As he did not come at our call, we set off without him for the Church of the Ascension, on the highest summit of Olivet. From the ridge at the head of the ravine we had a fine view of the north end of the

Dead Sea and of the Plains of Jericho. Arriving at the top of the mount, we found the remains of the church very much dilapidated. The first edifice erected here is ascribed to the Empress Helena, but it has long since fallen into decay ; there is still a small chapel, built mainly of the fragments of the ancient structure. Within this chapel is shown an impression made in the living stone by the foot of our Saviour, as he ascended to heaven ! A very unclerical-looking monk showed us the relic, and seemed surprised that we evinced no signs of devotion, although he had kept a group of coarse-looking people waiting until the *hiwadje*, or gentlemen, had satisfied themselves ; but, as the legend which he repeated was, to our certain knowledge, a pure fiction, we could not honestly appear to believe it. This summit was fixed upon as the place of the Ascension as early as the fourth century, probably by the monks, who swarmed in Palestine at the time. Perhaps they were misled by Acts, i., 12 : “ Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet ;” but this passage gives no indication that our Lord ascended from the height selected, while, on the other hand, it is expressly said in the passage already quoted, that before the Ascension CHRIST led his disciples out to Bethany. It was very natural for the disciples, in returning from the solemn scenes of the Ascension, to avoid the public highway, and descend through the olive-groves on the west of the mountain, where their departed Master had been accustomed to walk and converse with them. Without doubt, a desire to fix on some spot in full view of the city induced the monks to select the highest summit of Olivet as the spot of the Ascension.

We, too, returned to Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, descending from the church directly towards the

city. About half way down is a natural terrace, which affords, perhaps, the finest view of the city that can be obtained from any one point.

We returned to the city, crossing the little bridge over the Kedron, having passed the Garden of Gethsemane a second time without entering it. Its presence seemed to oppress my feelings on both occasions, and I deferred my visit to another time.

CHAPTER XXVI.

JERUSALEM.—WALK IV.

INTERIOR OF THE CITY.

Release from Quarantine.—Lodgings in the Latin Convent.—Call on Mrs. Whiting.—Pleasant Impressions.—Mr. Nicolayson.—Visit to a Rich Jew.—A Jewish Family.—An Eventful History.—Conversation with the Jew.—Streets of Jerusalem.—An Old Bazar.—The Turkish Bath.

ON our return from Bethany we found that the fear of the plague had vanished, and our tent was surrounded by visitors. Our quarantine bill (255 piastres for five of us and four servants) had been rendered, and *pratique* sent in, giving us full permission to go wheresoever our humour might lead us. On the next morning we struck our tents and took lodgings in the Latin Convent. A large, comfortable room was afforded to us, with four good mattresses laid on planks resting on benches, and surrounded with curtains. The convent supplied us with bread, salt fish, and vegetables; but as it was Lent, we had to buy our own meat. With these substantials, to which we added tea, coffee, sugar, figs, and dates of our own, our cook managed to set out an excellent table during our stay at the convent. We advise all visitors to Jerusalem to live in the same way.

Our first duty and pleasure, after being installed in our new quarters, was to call on Mrs. Whiting. Their house is a commodious one, just adjoining the Pool of Hezekiah. Mr. W., as I have said, was absent, but we found his estimable lady surrounded by her interesting scholars, a collection of young and sprightly girls from native Christian families. There is a wonderful difference between the appearance of these children and

those commonly seen in the street, abundantly proving the excellence of their training in the excellent school which Protestant and *American* liberality has raised up for them, even in Jerusalem. We spent a most agreeable hour with Mrs. Whiting. Everything was pleasant: it was pleasant to see an accomplished American lady in this distant land, and especially to see her engaged in so holy and noble a work; it was pleasant to talk of our far-off home; and even the sight of the rocking-chairs and the workstand, which were obviously of Yankee manufacture, was pleasant to our eyes.

From Mrs. Whiting's I went to return the call of Mr. Nicolayson, the able missionary of the London Society. I cheerfully add my testimony to that of all other Christian travellers who have visited Jerusalem, in regard to the urbanity, the kindness, and the truly Christian character of this excellent man. He is an honour to his Church, and to the society which maintains him as a Christian minister at Jerusalem. As we chanced to be entirely out of money, Mr. N. cashed for me his own draft on Beyrout, taking a simple memorandum for payment to his correspondent there. In order to complete this transaction, I accompanied Mr. N. to the house of a rich old Jew on Mount Zion, near the Tower, to whom, by-the-way, all travellers, I believe, who happen to be at a pinch in Jerusalem, are in the habit of resorting. The old man told us that he was out of business, and had no money at hand, but that he would send for a Jew acquaintance who would give 116 piastres to the pound sterling, the par value being 100. He sent for the broker, and, in the mean time, Mr. N. left us to attend to some business. I improved the time in chatting with the lively old son of Abraham and his family, which consisted of a young and buxom wife, and several live-

ly girls, the daughters, as I supposed, of a former wife, who appeared unveiled, and full of spirits. Everything about the place—the rooms, the furniture, the servants, the dresses of the family, betokened ease, wealth, and happiness, a rare sight, indeed, in Jerusalem. Coffee was ordered; a sleek and cheerful-looking maid served it, bowing reverently, and placing her left hand upon her breast as she presented the cup to each.

The old man was richly dressed in the Eastern style, and wore, in addition, a light blue pelisse faced with fur, whose ample folds enveloped his neck and shoulders, while his bushy gray beard fell in rich luxuriance upon his breast. He had a fine hazel eye, quick and penetrating, and his conversation was lively, with an air of importance and independence. His story of himself, which he took pride in telling, informed me that he was born in Gibraltar, and had spent a number of years in the West Indies, where he amassed a large fortune, which he invested, on returning to England, in Bank of England stock. At the time of the threatened invasion of Napoleon, he became alarmed, and sold out his stock at an immense sacrifice. He afterward settled at Malta, but the plague drove him to Jerusalem, where he determined to remain. He has bought property and built houses, in one of which the present Bishop Alexander dwells. As a British subject, the old man has enjoyed immunities which a native cannot have, and his worldly affairs have continued to prosper during his residence in the Holy City. This story, which there is no reason to doubt, accounts for the style in which we found the family living.

I turned the conversation to the Messiahship of Christ. The old man said that Jesus was a good man, but no more; that the story of his death might be true enough,

but that of his resurrection was all a *humbug*. (This English slang term was quite a favourite with him.) "Who saw him? Only two or three women. How many witnesses you got for Christ? All the world believes in Moses. Ask the Jew; he will tell you the Law of Moses is divine: ask the Mohammedan; he will tell you the Law of Moses is true: ask the Christian; he will tell you the Law of Moses is good. Here are three witnesses for Moses, and only one for Christ—the Christians." He repeatedly exclaimed, with great emphasis, "There is but one God! God have a wife! Mary the wife of God!" I finally asked if he did not believe in a Messiah at all. "Oh yes," said he; "he has not come yet, but will soon." "But will he be a mere man?" "What else?" said he. "But will he not be God among men?" I inquired. He replied, two or three times, with great excitement, "No man can see the face of God and live." When I asked him whence the Messiah would come, he replied, almost in the very words used by the Jews of old in regard to our Lord's claim, "No man knows whence he shall come. God shall send him." I ventured to remark to him that I thought he had not carefully investigated the history and claims of Jesus of Nazareth, to which he replied by stating that he had talked with Mr. Nicolayson for six hours at a time, and by referring to the absurd ceremonies connected with most Christian services in Jerusalem, especially the mummeries enacted at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, repeating the expression "Humbug! it is all humbug, by which the monks get money from the poor, foolish pilgrims." In this conversation were developed, perhaps, the chief popular objections of the Jews to Christ as the Messiah: 1. Their attachment to the Law of Moses, whose rites and ceremonies

Christianity has abolished ; 2. Their firm belief in the Unity of God, which they are unable to reconcile with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, while they are unwilling to receive the latter as a mystery ; 3. The foolish forms of worship with which they see Christianity disgraced and degraded in almost every country, and particularly in the Holy City.

It must not be supposed that many Jewish families in Jerusalem live as this old man's did. Many of them, nay, most of the thousands who linger in the sacred city, dwell in the most squalid poverty, in the dilapidated and abandoned dwellings that abound in every quarter. Perhaps a more wretched population is to be found nowhere on earth than the mass of the Jews in the Holy City, huddled together on the eastern edge of Mount Zion, over against the walls of their adored Temple.

I remarked before that from the walls of Jerusalem you cannot see any streets. We found it almost as hard to find anything deserving the name in our walks through the city, the best being nothing but crooked lanes some ten or twelve feet wide, and even these often shut up above by arches, or by the projecting walls of houses. Frequently we found it impossible to see a hundred yards before us in walking through these narrow defiles. There are no houses in Jerusalem with windows opening upon the street : nothing but blank walls present themselves on either side, as the apartments open upon an inner court. The gloom of these alleys is increased by the fact that you rarely meet any persons walking ; except at the bazars, it is very seldom the inhabitants are seen. The streets can hardly be said to be paved at all ; and where they are, the middle of the way is sunk, in many instances, from six

to eighteen inches, forming a dirty, rough gutter, with an equally rough footpath on each side of it, some two or three feet wide. As the surface of the city is quite irregular, many of the streets descend so rapidly as to require landings, or platforms, at short distances. This steepness is not always owing to the natural acclivity of the hills, but often to the rubbish of ancient buildings, upon whose unlevelled ruins the modern houses are erected. The great mass of the buildings appear to be constructed out of the remains of former edifices ; especially is this the case with the city walls, in which you may see hewn stones and fragments of all periods, from the time, perhaps, of Solomon, down to the fifteenth century, built into the walls, as they may have been several times before ; for the genius of destruction has hovered about this devoted city ever since the time when our Lord uttered his memorable denunciations against it. Even now it is a world of desolation. The substructions of many centuries lie under the present streets and houses ; and in almost every quarter you may see some deep cistern, now dry, or some pool, once furnishing pure water, now a mere sink for filth and rubbish.*

Threading the mazes of the city, I approached the western side of the Temple area, and passed up a long arched way, with openings above to admit the light, and stalls on each side, formed by large Saracenic arches in front and deep recesses back, for shops. It was once a fine bazar, but the stalls are now filled up with rubbish. The main archway forms the principal en-

* In digging the foundations for the English church on Mount Zion, the workmen passed through more than thirty feet of rubbish ; and, still lower in the living rock, came to stone steps leading down to a cistern and aqueduct in a good state of preservation.

trance to the Temple area, towards which I bent my steps, and approaching it, made as if I intended to pass into the sacred enclosure, but was very soon arrested by the loud voices of a group of Moslem women, who called out to me very angrily to stop. I turned aside into the principal public bath, which was close at hand.

In the antechamber there was a marble fountain of cold water, and around the walls were high divans with mats. On these some dozen Turks, who had just come out of the bath, were reclining very comfortably, smoking their pipes and sipping coffee, with towels thrown around them. Obeying the manager, I mounted on a divan, was undressed, and had a large towel wound around me and a pair of heavy wooden clogs put on my feet. In this array I was led through several rooms, vaulted, and lighted by small crocks, closed with glass, built into the ceiling, to a small inner chamber, the temperature of which was so high as to make the perspiration start from every pore. In each of the rooms were men lying on the marble pavement by hot fountains, throwing the water over them at will. I lay down upon the polished marble floor beside one of these fountains, and in a few minutes an attendant came in, with no other dress than a piece of linen girt about him, and commenced rubbing me with a stiff hair-cloth. I stood the operation as philosophically as possible, and let the fellow turn me over and over at pleasure, and rub away to his heart's content. Both of us were pretty well tired of the operation before he left me to make way for another, who came burdened with a vessel of perfumed soap and water. He also turned me about as seemed good to him, washed me down well, and then drenched me from head to foot with pure hot water from the

fountain; after which he left me to take my ease by the fountain side, and throw as much water over myself as I pleased. After a while came another attendant, who wrapped me up in towels, gave me a pair of clogs, and led me back again to the antechamber, where I lay down, covered with towels, on a pallet, rejected the proffered pipe, but drank a cup of delicious coffee, and fell asleep. I awoke wonderfully refreshed, dressed, and returned home.

CHAPTER XXVII.

JERUSALEM.—WALK V.

DOWN GIHON AND HINNOM TO THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT.

Head of the Gihon.—The Upper Pool.—The Lower Pool.—Valley of Hinnom.—Tophet.—Idolatry of the Jewish Kings.—Well of Nehemiah.—En-Rogel.—Ancient Mulberry-tree.—Ophel.—Pool and Fountain of Siloam.—Subterranean Channel.—Fountain of the Virgin.—Moving of the Waters.—Tents in the Valley.—An Arab Family.

PASSING out of the Jaffa Gate, I found the head of the valley, or, as we should call it, ravine of Gihon, about five minutes' walk from the wall on the northwest. It is a broad, shallow bowl, inclining on all sides towards a large tank in the centre, constructed for the purpose of collecting all the waters of the adjacent ground. This tank is generally called the *Upper Pool* of Gihon. I did not measure its dimensions, but they are given by Dr. Robinson at 316 feet by about 200. The walls are evidently very ancient, of solid masonry, and covered with cement. There was no water in the pool, as it is very much out of repair. There is a connexion between this pool and that of Hezekiah within the city, by an aqueduct, sections of which are exposed to view. All the surplus water passed down the valley by a subterranean conduit to the *Lower Pool* of Gihon, which is a vast reservoir some 600 feet by 300, formed by extending strong walls, like dams, across the ravine, the natural rock itself probably forming the pavement. Just north of this pool are the ancient arches on which the aqueduct* from Solomon's Pools crossed the valley, af-

* See Plan.

ter which it swept round the base of Zion, and turned northwardly in its course towards the Temple. These pools, with the aqueduct, constitute perhaps the most indubitable remains of antiquity about Jerusalem, and are, indeed, wonderful works.

From the Lower Pool the Valley of Gihon bends eastward, and sweeps round the southern base of Mount Zion, sinking rapidly towards the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and forming between Mount Zion and the Hill of Evil Counsel a deep ravine with very precipitous sides. This deep hollow is the ancient Valley of Hinnom, of evil notoriety. Near its point of junction with the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where it was called Tophet, was the scene of the base idolatries of the Jews when they gave themselves up to the worship of

“Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears.”

It was just opposite this spot that the wisest of kings, in the dark days of his alienation from the God of his father David,

“Was led to build
His temple right against the temple of God
On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove
The pleasant Valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence,
And black Gehenna called, the type of Hell.”

It was here that the idolatrous Ahaz “burnt incense, and burnt his children in the fire after the abominations of the heathen,” and that the apostate Manasseh added his name to the list of Judah's wicked kings. It was of this spot, too, that Jeremiah, in one of his most terrible passages, uttered the fearful denunciation, afterward so bitterly accomplished: “Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be called Tophet, nor the Valley of the Son of Hinnom, but the Valley of Slaughter; for they shall bury in Tophet till

there be no place ; and the carcasses of the people shall be meat for the fowls of the heaven and for the beasts of earth, and none shall fray them away.”* This fatal place has been, from time immemorial, one of the most fertile spots around Jerusalem. It was once the site of the “King’s Gardens,” through which the streams of Siloam flowed. In the days of the glory of Zion, the city walls swept low down the western and southern sides of the mount,† so as to enclose nearly the whole of it, which was covered with buildings. When in the fulness of its splendour, it must, indeed, have been worthy of the Psalmist’s eulogy : “Beautiful for situation is Mount Zion, the joy of the whole earth, on the side of the north, the city of the great king.”

Just below the junction of the ravines of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat is a deep well of living water, built up with large square stones, and partially covered with a rude building. It is generally called the Well of Nehemiah, because, according to tradition, it was here that this restorer of Israel found the sacred fire of the temple concealed upon his return from the Babylonish captivity. It is doubtless the *En-Rogel* mentioned in Joshua xv. and xviii. as one of the points in the border between Judah and Benjamin. Here, too, “Adonijah slew sheep, and oxen, and fat cattle by the stone Zohemoth, which is by En-Rogel, and called all his brethren the king’s sons, and all the men of Judah the king’s servants.”‡ The well is said to be 125 feet deep, yet the water is drawn up from it by a hand-rope. The same old Arab that is mentioned by Drs. Robinson and Olin sat by the well, with his long rope and leathern bucket, and offered to draw for us. If not dead, he is doubtless there yet, for he seems to be a fixture of the venerable spot.

* Jer., vii., 32, 33.

† See Plan.

‡ 1 Kings, i., 9.

At a short distance north of the Well of Nehemiah stands the ancient mulberry-tree under which, according to the tradition, Isaiah was sawn asunder at the command of Manasseh. It is just at the mouth of the Tyropœon, or Valley of Cheesemongers, the narrow, rocky dell, which comes down through the city, dividing Mount Zion from Mount Moriah within the walls, and Mount Zion from Ophel outside of them. Ophel is the sloping tongue of high ground which is formed by the rapid descent of Mount Moriah from the southern wall of the Temple to the junction of the Tyropœon with the Valley of Jehoshaphat. It terminates in a low, perpendicular cliff, in which the monks show you the Tomb of Isaiah. Beside it water was slowly flowing in a small, deep channel cut in the rock, and ascending but a few steps higher we came to

“Siloa’s brook, that flowed
Fast by the oracles of God.”

How little like the fountain of ‘Siloam that I had pictured in my imagination! Before it was a deep, artificial pool, now dry and dirty. Near at hand were seated three half-naked Arabs, washing their filthy clothes in earthen pans. Descending the rude stone stairs into a narrow chamber cut in the rock, I found an Arab woman washing a coarse garment, which was spread out upon the surface of the water. The depth of the water was about ten or twelve inches. The accompanying cut, from Bartlett, gives a good idea of the present condition of this celebrated fountain. In front, on the left, is a flight of steps descending to the pool, and on the right is a path leading to an arched opening, by which you enter and descend to the basin, some six feet wide, which is called the Fountain of Siloam. It is well ascertained, however, that there is no spring here, but



that the water which supplies this basin flows through a long subterranean passage from the Fountain of the Virgin, situated 1100 feet to the north, in the western edge of the Valley of Kedron. (See Map.) This passage is cut through the solid rock in a northeast direction, making various turns and windings, so as to make the distance between the two fountains 1750 feet by the aqueduct, while it is only 1100 feet above ground. Mention had been made of this passage by ancient writers, and its existence was well known at Jerusalem, but no accurate knowledge of it had been obtained in

modern times until the enterprise and industry of Messrs. Robinson and Smith, to which we are indebted for so many additions to the geography and topography of Palestine, were put into requisition.* Entering first at the basin of Siloam, they found the water low, and the passage, for the first hundred feet, from fifteen to twenty feet high; for another hundred feet or more, from six to ten feet; and afterward not more than four feet high. At the end of 800 feet they could advance no farther without crawling on all fours; they therefore desisted, first tracing upon the roof, with the smoke of their candles, the initials of their names and the figures 800. Three days afterward they entered the passage at the Fountain of the Virgin. The following is their account of the exploration: "The passage here is in general much lower than at the other end; most of the way we could, indeed, advance upon our hands and knees, yet in several instances we could only get forward by lying at full length, and dragging ourselves along on our elbows. The sand at the bottom has probably a considerable depth, thus filling up the canal in part, for otherwise it is inconceivable how the passage could ever have been thus cut through the solid rock. At any rate, only a single person could have wrought in it at a time, and it must have been the labour of many years At length, after having measured 950 feet, we arrived at our former mark of 800 feet traced with smoke upon the ceiling. This makes the whole length of the passage to be 1750 feet, or several hundred feet greater than the direct distance externally: a result scarcely conceivable, although the passage is very winding. We came out again at the Fountain of Siloam."†

* Bib. Researches, i., 501, 502.

† Ibid., i., 503.

The Fountain of the Virgin, then, is the proper source of the water that issues at the Pool of Siloam. It has been thought, for this reason, that the Siloam of Scripture is identical with the Fountain of the Virgin; but this is disproved by the statements of Josephus to the effect that Siloam was situated at the mouth of the Tyropœon. Only here, indeed, could it have been in the neighbourhood of the King's Gardens. A good idea of the present appearance of the Fountain of the Virgin may be obtained from the annexed cut.



It is approached under an arch by two ancient flights of stone steps, separated by a platform, and the water lies in a dark, narrow chasm, as at Siloam. It is supposed by Dr. Robinson that there is a connexion between this fountain and one known to exist below the great mosque (the ancient Temple), from which water is drawn to supply a neighbouring bath. He also suggests that this fountain under the mosque has some connexion with the ancient Fountain of Gihon, whose position has long been unknown.

It has long been reported that the waters in the Fountain of the Virgin flow irregularly at certain periods. A fact of so much interest, in connexion with the Scriptural account of the “moving of the waters” in the Pool of Bethesda, could not fail to excite attention; yet it has been authenticated only of late years by Messrs. Robinson and Smith, who had the good fortune to observe the phenomenon. “As we were preparing to measure the basin of the upper fountain, my companion was standing on the lower step, near the water, with one foot on the step and the other on a loose stone lying in the basin. All at once he perceived the water coming into his shoe, and, supposing the stone had rolled, he withdrew his foot to the step, which, however, was also now covered with water. This instantly excited our curiosity, and we now perceived the water rapidly bubbling up from under the lower step. In less than five minutes it had risen in the basin nearly or quite a foot. In ten minutes more it had ceased to flow, and the water in the basin was again reduced to its former level.”*

Near the Fountain of the Virgin, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, was one of the black tents of the Bedouins so often seen under the walls of Jerusalem. It was open on one side, and the half-naked family were sitting round a fire of dry sticks, roasting a goat for the common dinner. Passing up the valley, I met with an Arab woman, with two or three sprightly children, whom I paused to notice: they were shy at first, but a few paras gave them confidence, and even unveiled their mother, who showed a countenance quite lively and agreeable. Though coarsely clad, she wore silver bracelets, and a band of gold coins encircled her head. They were eating their usual meal of brown bread and water, and, fru-



gal as the repast was, they seemed fully satisfied with it. After my chat with this pleasant little family, I returned to my lodgings.

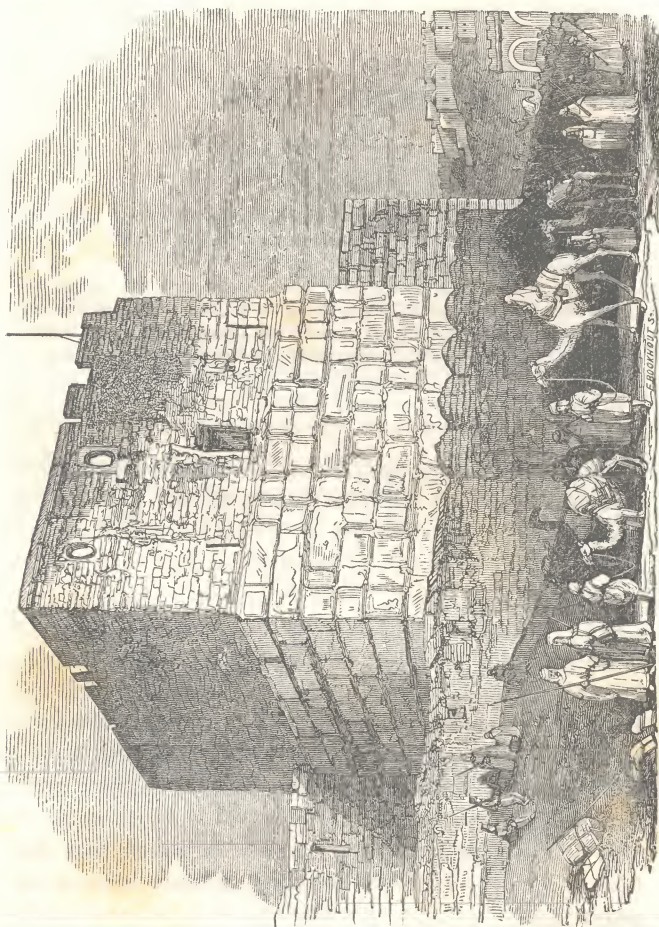
CHAPTER XXVIII.

JERUSALEM.—WALK VI.

MOUNT ZION.

The Citadel.—Tower of Hippicus.—The Armenian Convent.—Church of St. James.—Tawdry Ornaments.—Zion without the Walls.—House of Caiaphas.—Stone which closed the Sepulchre of Christ.—Christian Cemeteries.—Tomb of David.—The Cœnaculum.—Eastern Part of Zion.—Aqueduct from Solomon's Pools.—Colony of Lepers.—Forms of Leprosy.—Remains of Ancient Bridge connecting the Temple with Mount Zion.—Difficulty of Access.—A Surly Gate-keeper.—Walls of the Temple Area.—Their Various Dates.—Great Antiquity of the Lower Courses.—Fragment of the Arch.—Measurements.—Historical Question.—Controversy as to the Discovery of the Arch.—The Jews' Quarter.—Jews' Place of Wailing.

As has been remarked, Mount Zion lies partly within and partly without the present city walls. Our "walk about Zion" commences at the Citadel, a collection of towers on the west side of the city, forming, indeed, part of the wall, just south of the Jaffa Gate. On the city side it is enclosed by a low wall, and on the west it is defended by a fosse and a strongly-built rampart, sloping at an angle of about forty-five degrees. All the buildings composing the Citadel are comparatively modern except the main tower at the northeast angle, which arrests attention at once by the obvious antiquity of its lower story. The huge blocks of stone of which this is built, and the manner in which they are laid, without cement, and bevelled, indicate to even an unpractised eye its great antiquity. It is generally called the Tower of David, but there is little doubt of its identity with the Tower of Hippicus, one of the three bulwarks mentioned by Josephus as having been built by Herod. Its identity is matter of great importance in determining the course of the ancient walls, as Jo-



sephus makes it the starting-point in his descriptions of them. This position, although it is not the highest ground on Mount Zion, fully commanded the only points from which it was vulnerable, and overlooked the greater part of the city which lay below it towards the Temple.

It commands the principal gate, through which caravans are seen passing in and out.

Continuing our walk southward, we came to the Armenian Convent, the richest and most spacious establishment of the kind in the city. It covers a large space of ground, strongly enclosed. The Church of St. James, connected with the convent, has been often described in glowing terms. To enter it, we passed through a low, unornamented doorway into a gloomy passage, which, turning to the right, led to an open court in front of the church. Everything about the exterior is simple enough: but when we passed through the low porch into the church itself, we were bewildered by its profuse and gaudy decorations. The body of the church is nearly square, and without seats of any kind, as is the case in all Eastern churches; the floors are richly carpeted, and the walls are cased to the height of eight or ten feet with small squares of sky-blue porcelain, each having a cross or some religious device. Above this casing the walls are covered with wretched daubs of pictures richly gilt. As there are no windows in the walls, the light comes in from above, and would produce a fine effect if the decorations of the place were only in better taste. A thousand rich lamps of antique or modern forms, and many ostrich eggs, are suspended from the ceiling. There are no side aisles; the adjoining chapels are separated by screens and doors wrought in precious woods, mother-of-pearl, and tortoise-shell. It was a strange medley. One of the chapels is said to cover the spot where St. James was beheaded by command of Herod, and from this tradition the church has derived its name.

Leaving the church and passing out of the Zion Gate, in the southern wall of the city, we stood upon the summit of Mount Zion. Not far from the walls is a small

Armenian convent, by no means attractive in itself, but full of traditional interest. Within it, according to report, are the remains of the very house of Caiaphas, in which our Lord was imprisoned after his apprehension at Gethsemane. The chamber shown as the prison is apparently a cavern cut out of the rock. Here, too, under the altar of the church, is placed the veritable stone with which Joseph of Arimathea closed the door of our Saviour's sepulchre. It is covered up with masonry except two or three small spots, which are left exposed to accommodate the lips of those who believe these legends. Near this convent are the various Christian cemeteries, among them a neat little enclosure belonging to the American missionaries, in which lie two of our countrymen, and some children of England also.

At a little distance south stands a Turkish mosque, said to cover the Tomb of David. We were denied admission, as Christian dogs, into the lower part of the building, which tradition deems to be the sacred grave, but were shown into the second story, which is no less famous in Christian history. A long, low apartment is exhibited as the *cœnaculum*, or "upper room," in which our Lord ate the Passover with his disciples.—(Luke, xxii., 12.) In the east end of the room is a small Christian altar, and in the south an oratory for Mussulmen, as both religions venerate the spot. The Turks seemed surprised at our want of reverence, as we neither worshipped at the altar nor bowed at the oratory: we did not disclose to them our entire skepticism as to the localities which they hold in such high honour. Titus not only left no building standing in Jerusalem, but ploughed up the very soil of Mount Zion.

The eastern part of Zion is now partially cultivated, and paths wind down the declivity to the Valley of the

Tyropæon. About half way down the height, and just under the southern wall, I saw a portion of the aqueduct before mentioned, which conveyed the water from Solomon's Pools to the interior of the Temple. At this point it is formed of earthenware cylinders about thirty inches long and fifteen in diameter, joined together by cement, thus making a strong and durable water-pipe. Reascending to the Zion Gate, we re-entered the city, and continued our walk about Zion within the walls. Turning eastward, our eyes were pained by a sight of human misery in its most disgusting form. Between the Zion Gate and the Jews' Quarter are the wretched hovels of the lepers of Jerusalem, within the edge of an almost impervious thicket of prickly-pear, close to the city wall. A number of these wretched objects were standing and lying about, but we had no disposition closely to scrutinize their disgusting malady. There are two principal varieties of the modern leprosy: the one, commencing its ravages with the destruction of the extremities, and advancing until some vital organ is reached, and the patient dies; the other appearing as white scales or scurf upon the skin. The lepers of Syria are confined to three colonies—at Nablous, Damascus, and Jerusalem: in these they live among themselves, cut off from all fellowship of men, and intermarrying only with each other. To one of these colonies all leprous persons are compelled by law to resort.

We continued our course beyond the colony of the lepers in order to visit one of the most interesting points about Jerusalem—the remains of an ancient bridge projecting from the western wall of the Temple area. Nothing but the attraction of the object in view could have induced us to pursue our walk through the dense thicket of prickly-pear, and the accumulations of filth

and uncleanness of all sorts which lie between the Jews' Quarter and the southern wall of the city. We persevered, however, and at last got through the worst part of the way to the open space that lies southwest of the Temple, formerly the bed of the Tyropæon, but now raised considerably by the accumulated rubbish of ages. Part of this space is enclosed by a rude stone wall and cultivated as a garden, and this part we had to pass through in order to reach the object of our search. Approaching a little gate that opened into the garden, we found the way barred by an old Arab of very sour aspect, who absolutely refused to let us pass. I told Mustapha to push the gate open; but the old fellow raised his staff resolutely, perhaps with no intention to do more than extort a liberal buksheesh. While I slipped a small piece of gold into his hand, Mustapha gave another push at the gate, and the old man yielded as he looked upon the shining metal, threatening, however, to the last.

We were now immediately under the walls, at the southwest corner of the Temple area. The most casual observer cannot but perceive that the present erection is the work of different periods, and that, as ancient walls have been thrown down, new ones have been erected upon the old foundations, and partly with the old materials. They present three distinct characters: the modern, or Saracenic, in which the upper portions are constructed; another, somewhat more substantial, in which the middle parts are built, perhaps of the Roman period; and a third, obviously far more ancient, in which certain parts of the wall of the Temple area are laid. It was to these last that our attention was particularly directed; and I may as well mention here that the huge stones that have this distinct impress of

antiquity are to be found in the southeast, northeast, and southwest portions of the wall of the Temple area, and that they have precisely the same character in all these different places. Besides their immense size (varying from fifteen to thirty feet in length by from five to six in thickness), they are *bevelled*, or hewn down at the angles, so that when placed together in the wall they form a continuous groove at the joint; they are, moreover, laid without cement. These portions of the wall must belong to the period of the Jewish kingdom, if not to the time of Solomon himself. There is no such masonry among the Romans: it is as distinct in character, and as certainly anterior to their dominion, as are the Etruscan remains in Italy. It is to be observed that these remains do not form part of the wall of the *Temple*, but of the *Temple area*, which was enlarged by building these everlasting walls down the declivities of Mount Moriah, carrying them up to a level with the summit, filling in the enclosed space, and thus forming an elevated plateau, in the centre of which stood the Sanctuary, surrounded by magnificent porticoes, which rose still higher than the massive walls, and overlooked the yawning chasm of Jehoshaphat on the east, and the ravine of the Tyropœon on the west. The destruction of the Temple and upper works by the Romans doubtless covered up these lower tiers of stone, so that they kept their places, and formed part of the foundation for the new wall in the second century.

The remains of the ancient arch already mentioned are found in the western wall of the area, at the distance of about forty feet from the southwest angle. Three courses of immense stones remain, springing from the wall, so obviously forming part of a large arch that it *now* seems impossible that any one could look upon

them and mistake their character. The length of the courses is fifty feet, which was the width of the bridge. Dr. Robinson measured the distance across the valley of the Tyropœon to the base of Mount Zion,* and found it to be about 116 yards—an approximate measure of its length. The size of the stones used in this arch, and the manner in which they are laid, prove it to be of the same character and period as the remains of the ancient walls before referred to.

But the most interesting point in connexion with these remains is, that they undoubtedly form part of the bridge mentioned by Josephus as connecting the Temple with Mount Zion, and which, according to his statement, existed at least as early as the time of Pompey's invasion of Palestine. Of course, then, it was erected before the time of Herod; how long before no one can tell. But it is certain, waiving all antiquarian questions, that it stood here in the time of Christ, and that it was often pressed by his sacred feet in crossing from the Temple to the upper city.

Dr. Robinson doubtless has the honour of first publishing to Europe the existence of this interesting relic of antiquity, and of demonstrating that it was *the* bridge mentioned by Josephus, on which Titus held a parley with the Jews after he had taken the Temple, and was pressing the siege of Mount Zion. It is admitted, however, that the existence of the remains of an ancient arch, springing from the western wall of the Temple, was known to various persons prior to Dr. Robinson's visit to Jerusalem; and the Rev. Mr. Homes, one of the missionaries of the American Board, claims to have suggested that they were the remains of *the* bridge mentioned by Josephus. With respect to the unpleasant con-

* Researches, i., 425.

troversy that has arisen from what appear to be discrepancies in the recollections of excellent men, I do not feel called upon to say anything, except, perhaps, to express the opinion that, if all the parties had conversed together before their differences were published, the controversy would never have arisen.

JEW'S QUARTER.—PLACE OF WAILING.

Returning from the Temple, our way led through the Jews' Quarter. No description could give an adequate idea of its squalid filth and wretchedness. The houses are built of stone, but many of them are dilapidated, and repairs seem never to be made. Although the position of the quarter, upon the slope of Zion, affords better opportunities for draining and cleansing than any other part of the city, its streets are almost impassable from the collections of filth—the refuse of slaughter-houses, and abominations of all sorts—which block up the way, and fill the atmosphere with noisome odours. The Jewish population is confined to this quarter, and numbers, perhaps, about five thousand.* They are supported by the contributions of their brethren in Europe for the purpose of keeping up their ancient worship in the Holy City. Their fidelity is to be praised, though their condition is to be pitied.

A narrow, crooked lane leads from the Jews' Quarter to a small spot on the west side of the Temple wall, entirely shut out from observation, which is the scene, every Friday, of a most touching custom, long kept up by the children of Israel. They have purchased of the Turks the privilege of approaching the

* Rev. Mr. Grimshaw, recently from Jerusalem, says 10,000. My statement is made on the authority of the rich old Jew and of Mr. Nicolayson, long a resident missionary. I find the Scotch commission makes the resident Jewish population 5000, and the transient 2000; total, 7000.

ancient Temple wall at this spot, which is called their *Place of Wailing*, to weep over the fallen glory of their race, under the very ruins of their once magnificent sanctuary. The masonry of the wall at this point is of the same massive character as at the ancient bridge, and the Jews believe it to have been part of the wall of the Temple. On Friday they assemble here in considerable numbers, and cry, "Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our house to aliens." The Book of the Law is read by aged men, and women walk up and down the small area, occasionally approaching the wall to kiss it, pouring forth lamentations and prayers. According to Dr. Robinson, this touching custom is not of modern origin. "Benjamin of Tudela mentions it as connected apparently with the same spot in the twelfth century, and very probably the custom has come down from still earlier ages." And here they still linger, with the pertinacity that has always formed one of their strongest characteristics, bewailing the desolation of Judah, and waiting for the time when God shall "renew their days as of old."

CHAPTER XXIX.

JERUSALEM.—WALK VII.

GETHSEMANE.—THE ENCLOSURE OF THE TEMPLE.

Gethsemane.—Pool of Bethesda.—Enclosure of the Temple.—Peep at the Interior.—View from Governor's House.—Mr. Catherwood's Account.—Difficulty of Gaining Admittance.—Stratagem.—Danger.—Rescue.—Entrance.—Platform of the Mosque.—The Mosque of Omar.—Natural Rock under the Dome.—The Noble Cave.—The Well of Souls.—Pilgrims.—Mosque El-Aksa.—Vaults.—Identity of Site of the Ancient Temple.—Dimensions of Area.—Conclusions.

PASSING again out of the Jaffa Gate, we rambled down the Valley of Gihon, around the base of Zion, to the Pool of Siloam. At this point my companions left me, and I continued my walk alone up the Valley of Jehoshaphat, not displeased with the opportunity of a solitary wandering among the tombs, and of standing alone upon the sacred soil of Gethsemane. Again and again had I passed by the enclosure, but could not bring myself to enter it : now, however, I was alone, and soon to depart from the Holy City, and my feelings had been softened by a walk among the tombs. At the foot of Mount Olivet, just opposite St. Stephen's Gate, a rude stone wall encloses about a quarter of an acre of ground, in which stand eight ancient olive-trees, some of them very large. There is little doubt that this enclosure was the spot of our Saviour's sufferings on that fearful night when he was betrayed. Musing on the affecting narrative of the Evangelist, I approached, climbed over the tottering wall, and sat down at the foot of a gnarled and shattered olive, that seemed, to my excited imagination, as if it might have stood there and heard the Saviour's cry, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me."

The stillness of the place was oppressive. The Temple wall almost overhangs the spot, but no hum of life comes upon the breeze over its gloomy battlements. My heart sunk deeper in sadness as I heard the croak of a raven that flew over the apparently deserted city. All that remains of Gethsemane harmonizes with the sad associations of the place. No one can walk under its venerable olives, and think of the meek Sufferer who once poured out upon its soil "great drops of sweat and blood," and yet, in his agony, cried, "Father, not my will, but thine be done," without a deeper love for the Redeemer, and a stronger "fellowship of his sufferings." Mine eyes were constrained to attest the power of the place over the heart, and, as I arose to depart, I involuntarily exclaimed, "I must go hence, and never again shall I see thee, O Gethsemane! But I shall see the Lord of Life and of Glory coming the second time without sin unto salvation; and be it my sole endeavour so to live as to hail him, on the morning of the Resurrection, with the exclamation, "*Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!*"

POOL OF BETHESDA.

I ascended directly from Gethsemane to St. Stephen's Gate, just within which, on the left, adjoining the Temple area, is a trench of vast dimensions, commonly called the Pool of Bethesda. Dr. Robinson gives its length at 360 feet, its breadth at 130, and its depth at 75, besides the rubbish which has been accumulating in it for ages—dimensions so enormous as at once to suggest a doubt whether they could ever have belonged to a mere pool or reservoir. At the western extremity, two lofty arches, of unequal height, extend under some buildings no one knows how far. Pococke suggested that this res-



TEMPLE OF THE MOUNT
OF OLIVES

— F. E. & J. M. —

ervoir was part of a fosse which separated Moriah from Bezetha, and this hypothesis is adopted, in substance, by Drs. Robinson and Olin, who consider that the part of the fosse immediately north of the Tower of Antonia must have been filled up by the Romans, under Titus, when they constructed their embankments or mounds for the siege of the Temple. It is true that the present walls of the reservoir are lined with cement ; but this does not bear against the above hypothesis, as the work does not bear the marks of great antiquity.

INTERIOR OF THE HARAM.

Between the trench and the city wall is a narrow passage leading to the gate at the northeast corner of the area of the Haram. No Jew or Christian is permitted to enter the enclosure ; but I ventured to go a few steps within the gate, and stood long enough to get a good, though distant view of the vast area, with its magnificent buildings, walks, and fountains. The best view, however, is to be obtained from the top of the Governor's House, on the site of the ancient Tower of Antonia, at the northwest corner of the sacred enclosure. This elevation commands the whole platform perfectly ; the accompanying plate is a copy of Bartlett's beautiful view, taken from the spot. In the foreground appear a number of fountains, and small, neat buildings with domes, which are oratories or places of prayer. Scattered over the area are a number of trees, generally cypress, olive, and palm ; and under the shade of these the faithful enjoy a cool and delightful promenade. On the right is a long range of buildings occupied as public schools and the colleges of the Dervishes. In the centre is the magnificent Mosque of Omar, built upon an elevated platform, which is paved

with marble; and in the distance beyond it appears the lesser mosque El-Aksa, which is nearly at the south-west angle of the enclosure. For a farther description of this remarkable area I refer the reader to the extracts from Mr. Catherwood, given below, to make room for whose clear and distinct statements, made from personal and direct observation, I willingly throw out my own notes. The extracts are taken from a letter of Mr. Catherwood's to Mr. Bartlett;* and from the introductory statements it will be seen that Mr. C. was enabled, by dint of boldness and ingenuity, to make a complete and accurate investigation, not merely of the interior of the Temple area, but even of the remarkable vaults and substructions below. As this is the only account of his observations which has yet appeared in print, I deem no apology necessary for the length of the extracts herewith presented.

“DEAR SIR,—You have asked for some account of my visit to the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, and the ground surrounding it, occupied formerly by the Temple of Solomon. You also request my opinion on several points connected with its topography. I was at Jerusalem in 1833, in company with my friends Messrs. Bonomi and Arundale; and having so often looked upon the interesting buildings which now occupy this celebrated spot, I felt irresistibly urged to make an attempt to explore them. I had heard that for merely entering the outer court, without venturing within the mosque, several unfortunate Franks had been put to death, and you may therefore conceive the attempt was somewhat rash. However, there were many circumstances in my favour: it was the period of the rule of Mehemet

* Walks about Jerusalem, p. 161.

Ali in Syria, and the Governor of Jerusalem, with whom I was on good terms, was a latitudinarian as to Mohammedanism. I had brought with me a strong firman, expressly naming me as an engineer in the service of his highness. I had adopted the usual dress of an Egyptian officer, and was accompanied by a servant possessed of great courage and assurance. This man had strongly urged me to the experiment; and at last, notwithstanding the remonstrances of my friends, I entered the area one morning with an indifferent air, and proceeded to survey, but not too curiously, the many objects of interest it presents. As I was about to enter into the mosque, however, I caught sight of one of the guardian dervishes who are in the habit of conducting pilgrims around it; this man made towards me, in hope of a better donation than usual. As I was not prepared to go through the requisite ceremonial with this devout guide, I thought it prudent to retreat, as if accidentally, from his alarming neighbourhood, and quietly left the area without having occasioned the least notice. The success of my first attempt induced me to make a second visit the following day. I determined to take with me my camera lucida, and make a drawing: a proceeding certain to attract the attention of the most indifferent, and expose me to dangerous consequences. The cool assurance of my servant at once befriended and led me on. We entered, and, arranging the camera, I quickly sat down to my work, not without some nervousness, as I perceived the Mussulmen from time to time mark me with doubtful looks; however, most of them passed on, deceived by my dress and the quiet indifference with which I regarded them. At length, some more fanatic than the rest began to think all could not be right: they gathered at a distance in groups,

suspiciously eyeing me, and comparing notes with one another: a storm was evidently gathering. They approached, broke into sudden clamour, and, surrounding us, uttered loud curses; their numbers increased most alarmingly, and, with their numbers, their menacing language and gestures, escape was hopeless; I was completely surrounded by a mob of two hundred people, who seemed screwing up their courage for a sudden rush upon me. I need not tell you what would have been my fate. Nothing could be better than the conduct of Suleyman, my servant, at this crisis: affecting vast indignation at the interruption, he threatened to inform the governor, out-Hectoring the most clamorous, and, raising his whip, actually commenced a summary attack upon them, and knocked off the cap of one of the holy dervishes. This brought matters to a crisis, and I believe few minutes would have passed ere we had been torn in pieces, when an incident occurred that converted our danger and discomfiture into positive triumph. This was the sudden appearance of the governor on the steps of the platform, accompanied by his usual train. Catching sight of him, the foremost—those who had been disgraced by the blows of Suleyman—rushed tumultuously up to him, demanding the punishment of the infidel who was profaning the holy precincts and horsewhipping the true believers. At this the governor drew near; and, as we had often smoked together, and were well acquainted, he saluted me politely, and supposing it to be beyond the reach of possibility that I could venture to do what I was about without warrant from the Pasha, he at once applied himself to cool the rage of the mob. ‘You see, my friends,’ he said, ‘that our holy mosque is in a dilapidated state, and no doubt our lord and master, Mehemet Ali, has

sent this effendi to survey it, in order to its complete repair. If we are unable to do these things for ourselves, it is right to employ those who can ; and such being the will of our lord the Pasha, I require you to disperse, and not incur my displeasure by any farther interruption ;' and, turning to me, he said, in the hearing of them all, that if any one had the hardihood to disturb me in future, he would deal in a summary manner with him. I did not, of course, think it necessary to undeceive the worthy governor, and, gravely thanking him, proceeded with my drawing. All went on quietly after this.

"During six weeks I continued to investigate every part of the mosque and its precincts, introducing my astonished companions as necessary assistants in the work of survey ; but when I heard of the near approach of Ibrahim Pasha, I thought it was time to take leave of Jerusalem. The day after my departure he entered, and, as it happened, several English travellers of distinction arrived at the same time. Anxious to see the mosque, they asked permission of Ibrahim, whose answer was characteristic of the man, to the purport that they were welcome to go if they liked, but he would not ensure their safe return, and that he would not venture to outrage the feelings of the Mussulmen by sending an escort with them. Here he was met with the story of my recent visit. He said it was impossible : the dervishes were summoned, the governor was summoned, and an eclaireissement took place which must have been a scene of no small amusement.

"It was more than simple curiosity that urged this rash attempt, and its fortunate issue enabled me, with my associates, to make a complete and scientific survey of the mosque, vaults, gateways, and other objects com-

prised within the extent of the area. These, I hope, at some future period will be published. In the mean time, I gladly present you with a few brief notes for your intended publication.

“The principal entrance to the area is through the deserted bazar on its west side; there are also three other entrances on the same side, and two from the north. In going from the gateway to the mosque, a distance of one hundred and fifty feet, several praying places of the Mohammedans are passed, with one or two elegant fountains surmounted by beautiful cupolas, overshadowed with cypress and palm trees. The great platform is in general about fifteen or sixteen feet above the area, and is reached by three flights of stairs on the western side, above which are elegant pointed archways, probably of the same age as the mosque; of these are also on the north side two, on the south side two, and on the east side one. At various intervals between these are apartments, under and attached to the platform, appropriated to the poorest class of Mohammedan pilgrims, who are lodged and fed gratuitously from the funds of the mosque: one portion of these is devoted to black pilgrims from Africa. This extensive platform is four hundred and fifty feet from east to west, and five hundred and fifty feet from north to south, paved in part with marble; on it are several elegant praying places, one especially, said to have been used by Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet; and on the south side, attached to the external parapet, is a sumptuous and highly-wrought pulpit of the richest materials. On the east side, within a few feet of the mosque, is a building resembling a fountain, composed of columns and arches, with a praying place, pointing

towards Mecca, and which, according to their traditions, was the judgment-seat of King David.

“The great Mosque of Omar, which stands on the platform, is octagonal in form, each side measuring sixty-seven feet. The lower division of the wall is composed of various-coloured marbles, arranged in elegant and intricate patterns. The remaining portion is pierced with fifty-six pointed windows, filled with the most beautiful stained glass imaginable, perhaps of greater brilliancy than the finest specimens in our own cathedrals. The piers separating the windows are externally decorated with glazed tiles of bright colours and various patterns, which is also the case with the circular wall supporting the dome. The double dome, of peculiarly elegant form, is covered with lead, surmounted by a tall gilt crescent. Four doors give entrance to the mosque, opposite to the cardinal points; of these the southern is the principal, having a porch supported by marble columns. A narrow corridor, about thirteen feet wide, runs around the entire building inside, having eight piers and sixteen marble Corinthian columns, which I suppose have belonged to some ancient Roman buildings; the second corridor, which also runs round the building, is about thirty feet in breadth; the interior diameter of it is ninety-eight feet. The dome is sixty-six feet in diameter, supported by four massive stone piers and twelve ancient Corinthian marble columns, also supposed to have formed part of the Jewish or pagan temple formerly existing on the site.

“These are connected by arches, from which springs the circular wall supporting the dome; the interior of this wall, and the dome itself, are ornamented in gilt, in the arabesque style, such as prevails in the Alhambra.

This dome, which is of very ancient date, is composed of woodwork ; portions of it are elaborately carved, although concealed from sight. Under this dome is a remarkable limestone rock : it occupies, with its irregular form, the greater part of the area beneath, and is surrounded by a gilt iron railing to keep it from the touch of the numerous pilgrims. It appears to be the natural surface of the rock of Mount Moriah : in a few places there are marks of chiselling. Over this hangs a time-worn crimson silk canopy.* At the southeast corner of this rock there is an excavated chamber, called by the Mohammedans the Noble Cave, to which there is a descent by a flight of stone steps. This chamber is irregular in form, and its superficial area is about six hundred feet, the average height seven feet : it derives a peculiar sanctity from having been, successively (according to Mohammedan tradition), the praying place of Abraham, David, Solomon, and Jesus ; its surface is quite plain, and in it are a few small altars. In the centre of the rocky pavement is a circular slab of marble, which being struck, returns a hollow sound, clearly showing that there is a well or excavation beneath : this is called by the Mohammedans '*Bir ar-ruah*,' the Well of Souls—of the wicked, we must suppose, this being the entrance to the Mohammedan hell. I was gravely informed that this well was opened until about forty years since, and up to that period was frequented by those who were desirous of holding converse with the souls of the departed confined below ; but that a certain widow, who was more than ordinarily cu-

* It was on this living rock probably that Abraham offered up Isaac, and which afterward was the foundation of the Holy of Holies, perhaps the altar of the sanctuary itself, on which rested the ark of the covenant, and on which the High Priest sprinkled blood once a year on the great day of atonement.—
J. P. D.

rious and communicative, carried such intelligence from the living to the dead, and from the dead to the living, as to disturb the peace of many families in the city, and cause such commotion below, that the noise getting too outrageous, the well had to be closed to prevent farther mischief-making. The corridors of the mosque are airy, light, and elegant, and the sun, streaming through the richly-stained glass windows, casts a thousand varied dyes upon the highly-decorated walls and marble pavement. In striking contrast to this is the sombre and impressive appearance of the dome : the eye in vain strives to pierce its gloom, to unravel its maze of rich arabesque ornaments, and read its lengthened inscriptions drawn from the Koran. In perfect keeping are the groups of pilgrims and devout Mussulmen from all parts of the Mohammedan world, from India to Morocco. Their picturesque variety of dress and feature, their deeply-devout deportment, as, headed by dervishes in green robes and high conical caps, they silently prostrate themselves in prayer, thankful to have attained the term of their weary pilgrimage, are very striking. One in particular, whom I conversed with, a native of British India, had walked from Calcutta across Persia and Arabia, employing in the journey three long years : he had been about two months in the Holy City, and was on the point of retracing his steps, satisfied with his title of ' Hadji,' and of being on the road to Paradise. Throughout the mosque are many objects of traditional reverence pertaining to Mohammed Ali, the Kalif Omar, Fatima, and other Mohammedan saints, too tedious to enumerate. Suffice it to say, that, after the ' Caaba' at Mecca, the ' Sakhara' (in Jerusalem) is the most venerated place of Mohammedan devotion. Proceeding southward from the platform of the Mosque of Omar, across a paved footway shaded

by venerable cypresses, at the distance of three hundred and fifty feet we reached the porch of the Mosque El-Aksa, which occupies the remaining space of two hundred and eighty feet, extending to the southern wall of the great enclosure. It consists of a nave and six side-aisles, of a mixed architecture, the entire breadth being one hundred and eighty feet. The columns and piers are very irregular in size, material, and architectural character, some being evidently Roman, while others are Saracenic. At the southern extremity is a beautiful dome, under which stands the gallery for the singers, and an elaborately carved pulpit. Attached to the southwest angle of the building is the mosque of our Lord, Abu Bekr. This mosque is upward of two hundred feet in length, and fifty-five in breadth. Down the centre is a row of eight piers, from which arches cross to the sides: at right angles with this is the Mosque of the Mogrebbins, two hundred feet in length, of no particular character. At the opposite end of the edifice, on the edge of the wall, is the small Mosque of Omar, eighty-five feet in length. Attached to this mosque is one still smaller, called that of the Forty Prophets. The mass of buildings projecting at the back, beyond the wall of the great enclosure, are merely offices connected with the mosque.

“The interior of this extensive building, like the Mosque of Omar, abounds in traditionary objects. Its distinguishing peculiarity is a large enclosure for the devotions of Mohammedan women, who are not, on any account, permitted to enter the principal mosque. Like the Mosque of Omar, this also has its well. The entrance to the ancient gateway, existing under the mosque, is beneath the archway immediately to the left of the main entrance, by a flight of stone steps. This gateway is apparently of the same age and style as the

Golden Gateway : it is two hundred and eighty feet in length, and, by means of steps and an inclined plane, the roadway through it ascends from the southern entrance to the level of the area.

“ Beneath the dome, at the southeast angle of the Temple wall, conspicuous from all points, is a small subterranean mosque or place of prayer, forming the entrance to the extensive vaults which support the level platform of the mosque above. It may be presumed that the whole of the eastern side of the platform is so supported, but the only part accessible is immediately beneath the southeast angle. Here are fifteen rows of square pillars, from which spring arches supporting the platform. The spaces between the arches are of irregular dimensions. The roots of the olive-trees above have struck through the arches, and, in some instances, taken root again below. The ground rises rapidly from the southeast towards the north and west, so that the height of the southern arches is thirty-five feet, while the northern ones are but ten.

“ The whole substruction appears to me of Roman origin, and, in connexion with the Golden Gate, and the one beneath the El-Aksa, together with the ancient bridge, to have formed a connected plan of foundations and approaches to the great Temple of Herod.

“ At the southern end of the chapel are four columns supporting a small dome, under which is a stone sarcophagus in the Roman style of workmanship, called by the Mohammedans ‘ the Tomb of our Lord Issa,’ or Jesus. This is an object of great veneration to Mohammedans.

“ I pass on to consider the questions you submit : they may be stated as follows :

“ 1st. Is the ground occupied by the Mohammedan

places of worship, with their enclosures and courts, generally identical with that of the ancient Temple, its courts, and porticoes ?

“2d. Is the masonry of large stones in the wall, and the springing stones of an arch in the western wall, at the southwest angle, of higher antiquity than the time of Herod ?

“In regard to the first question, I believe all who have written on the subject are of the same opinion, viz., that the two Mohammedan mosques occupy the site of the ancient Temple of Solomon and its courts. It is the only level space of ground, and in all respects corresponds with the Scriptural accounts within the city and those of more recent date.

“The extent occupied by the old Temple, and its courts and porticoes, it appears to me, ought rather to be gathered from certain peculiarities in the ground itself at present existing, than from the account of Josephus, who states that the area of the Temple was square, which does not at all agree with the present boundaries.

“The lower courses of the masonry of ancient walls exist on the east, south, and west sides of the great enclosure *for nearly its whole length and breadth*, and on the north side is distinguished by a wall on the brink of a deep trench, and at the northwest inner angle by the rock being cut perpendicularly to an extent of twenty feet in some parts.

“The length of the east wall is 1520 feet, of the south wall 940 feet, of the west wall 1617 feet, and of the north, 1020 feet, and the wall stands at right angles only at one point, the southwest corner. Consequently, speaking mathematically, the area of the Temple could never have been square : this is supposing always that

the old east, south, and southwest walls occupied the direction of the present ones.

“The site occupied by the Temple was originally called Mount Moriah, and declined steeply from the northwest towards the southeast; and in order to render it applicable for the building of a magnificent temple, it was necessary to cut away a considerable portion of the rock at the northwest, and to raise the ground at the southeast angle. *Both of these works still exist, and in perfect preservation.*

“I consider it likely that the present area corresponds very nearly with the ancient one; that the fortress and Tower of Antonia stood entirely without the present enclosure; that the Mosque of Omar occupies the position of the Holy of Holies of Solomon's Temple, and that the Hagara Sakhara was the foundation-rock on which it stood.

“Such is a brief sketch of the most important objects within the enclosure of the ‘Haram,’ a spot now impossible to enter, and which my peculiar good fortune enabled me to explore. I present it in the hope that it may add to the interest of your work.

“I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

“F. CATHERWOOD.”

CHAPTER XXX.

JERUSALEM.—WALK VIII.

THE VIA DOLOROSA.—THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Via Dolorosa.—Ecce Homo.—Church of the Holy Sepulchre.—First Impressions.—The Court.—Pilgrims.—Buyers and Sellers.—The Vestibule.—Stone of Unction.—The Nave.—Sepulchre.—Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea.—Chapel of Franciscans.—Chapel of the Greeks.—Altars.—Monkish Traditions.—Chapel of Helena.—Place of the Finding of the Crosses.—The Supposed Calvary.—Disputes about Possession of the Church.—Degrading Exhibitions of Christianity in Jerusalem.—Controversy as to the Identity of the Sepulchre.—Views of different Travellers.—The Tradition rejected.—Grounds of this Rejection.—Invalidated by both History and Topography.

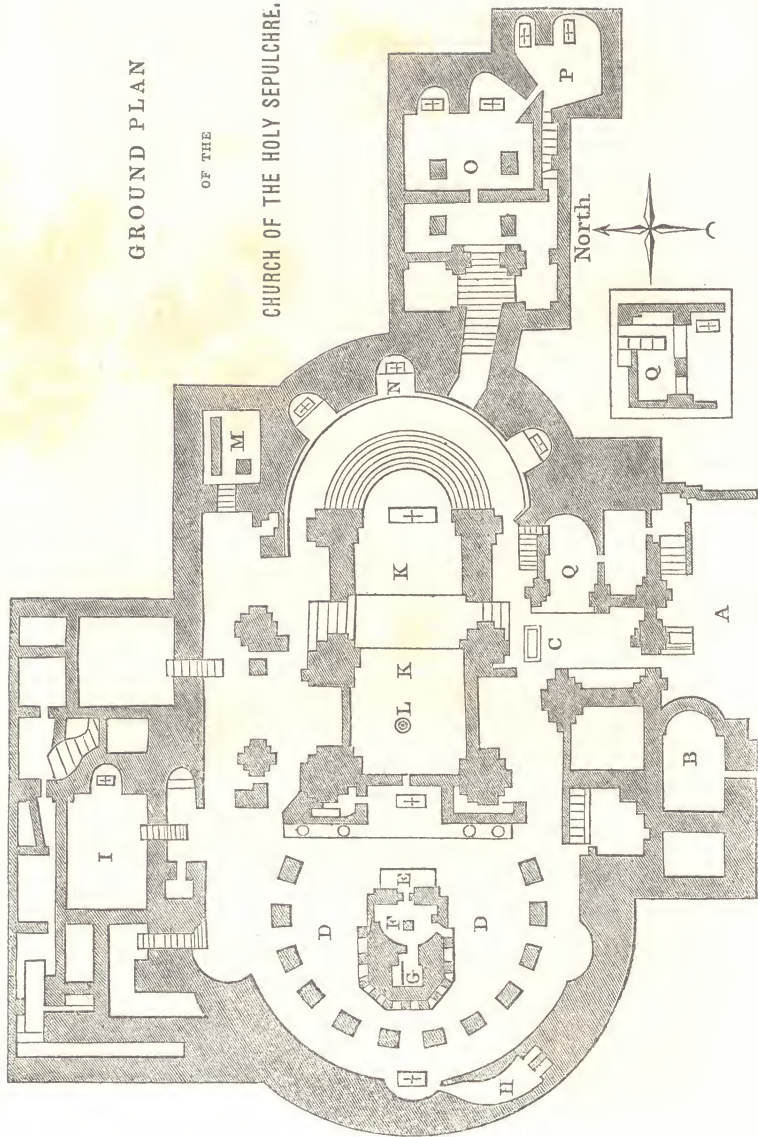
THE street which runs from St. Stephen's Gate westward towards the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is called the *Via Dolorosa*, in commemoration of Christ's toilsome walk through it to the place of his crucifixion. The monkish traditions have fixed upon points of association here for almost all the events that preceded the ascent of Calvary. An archway across the street (called the *Ecce Homo*) is shown as the place where Pilate brought Christ forth to the people, saying, "Behold the man!" The spot where the Virgin Mother, overcome by her feelings, fell into a swoon; the point at which Simon the Cyrenian was compelled to assist Christ in bearing the cross; the houses of the rich man and Lazarus—all are shown with the most unwavering certainty. Such absurdities as these ill prepare one to confide in the traditionary accounts of the monks in regard to the site of the Sepulchre and of Calvary.

Though the Church of the Sepulchre is a very large edifice, and its lofty dome is visible from every quarter

GROUND PLAN

OF THE

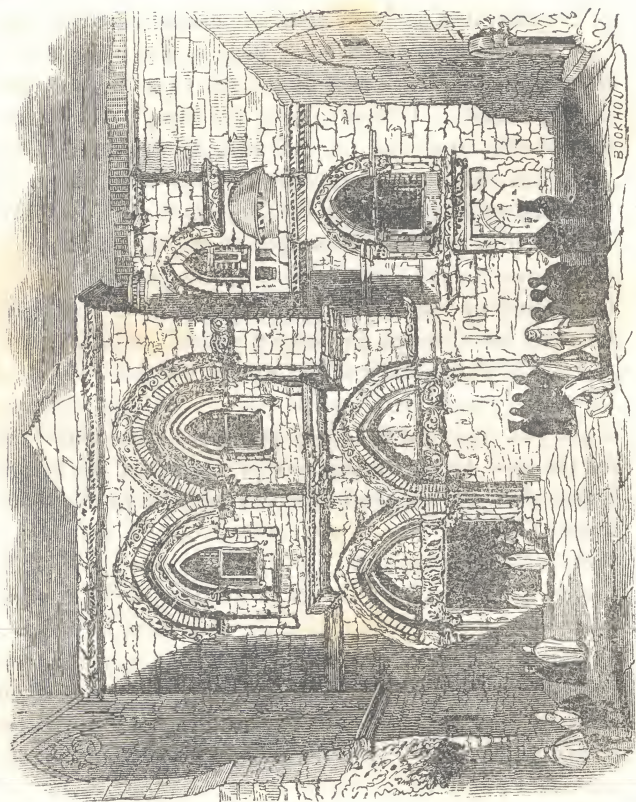
CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.



of the city, it is not very easy of access, from the number of buildings which have been erected about it at different times, and which cut off the view of great part of the edifice. Turning down the street which runs southwardly from the Via Dolorosa by the Coptic Convent, you enter a narrow lane running east, which affords the only approach to the Church of the Sepulchre. To visit this spot had been one of the earliest dreams of my youth; the impression which a perusal of Chateaubriand at that early period made upon my mind followed me through successive years. A subsequent reading of the journals of less ardent and less credulous travellers should perhaps have corrected these impressions, but they did not; my judgment was convinced for the time being, but the earlier visions of the imagination always triumphed over the convictions of reason. It remained for the painful revelations of a personal visit to the reputed sepulchre—the monstrous absurdities of an unreasoning tradition, the frauds and impositions of a corrupted religion, the degradation and debasement of credulous pilgrims, the strifes between contending factions, all professing Christianity, and all unworthy of the name—to banish forever the dreams of my youth, and to correct whatever tendency to superstition might have existed in my imagination.

The external appearance of the church, as far as it is visible, is exhibited in the accompanying wood-cut; and with the aid of the annexed ground-plan, which is remarkably accurate, the reader will be able to obtain a clear notion of the different localities within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

In front of the church is a large court (marked A in the Plan), paved with stones that are deeply worn by the feet of innumerable pilgrims. This court is a



market-place for the sale of all the little adjuncts of superstitious worship—rosaries, strings of pearl or wooden beads, amulets, and shells with the Church of the Sepulchre or some legendary scene rudely cut upon them; and so great is the number of the venders of these objects, who sit about the court beside their wares, that care is necessary to get through them. For the barefooted pilgrim, who has begged his way to Jerusalem, and saved a piastre to purchase relics, they

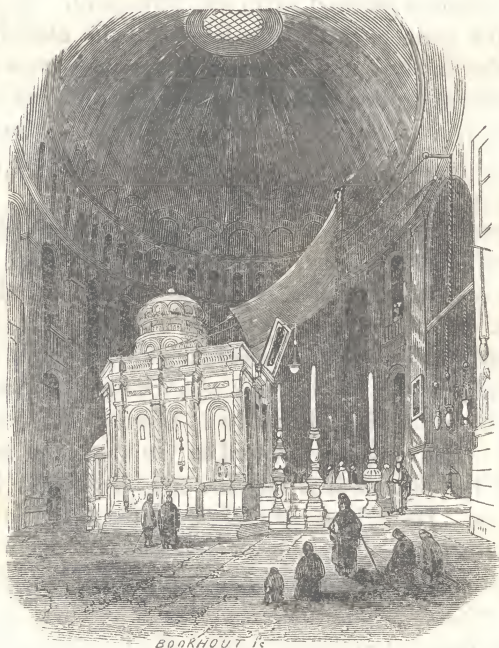
have a cheap rosary or a crucifix of rude workmanship; for the rich disciple, who comes to perform his devotions at the Sepulchre clad in silks and linen, they display costlier wares of silver, gold, and pearl, endued with strange and miraculous virtues.

The church is accessible at any time on the payment of a small fee, but the promiscuous crowd of pilgrims is only admitted at certain hours. We entered the court on one occasion just before the door was opened, and found throngs of men and women of all nations and all classes anxiously waiting for admission, and the centre of the court occupied by a Turkish guard, with their muskets stacked upon the pavement. At length the key arrived, the heavy leaves of the church door unfolded inward, and the mob of devotees crowded to the entrance, pushing and jostling each other as if their very salvation depended upon speedy admittance. I remained behind in the court until the enthusiastic throng had passed into the vestibule.

Entering the church, I found the crowd of pilgrims gathered round a small polished marble slab (C), raised some six or eight inches above the pavement of the vestibule, and surrounded by a low railing. This is the "Stone of Unction," on which, according to the monkish tradition, our Lord's body was washed, anointed, and laid out for burial, after it was taken down from the cross. The pilgrims pressed to the spot, and eagerly kissed the slab, as if it had life and affection to impart to them. Distinctions of rank were forgotten: a European officer, in rich uniform, covered with decorations, knelt beside an Armenian boor, and pressed his lips upon the very spot which a moment before had been touched by the mouth, redolent of garlic, of a Copt from Egypt, or a Nubian from the Upper Nile. What will not man

do to save his soul, except "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ with a heart unto righteousness."

Turning to the left from the vestibule, we entered that part of the church which is properly called the nave (D D), a circular space over a hundred feet in diameter, surrounded by sixteen columns which support the galleries, and a lofty dome which surmounts the whole. Directly under the centre of the dome is the supposed site of our Lord's sepulchre, covered by a small building of marble, some twenty feet long by ten broad, raised upon a platform (E) perhaps nine inches above the pavement of the nave. Beside the narrow door sat



two men crosslegged, who took the shoes of such pilgrims as were sufficiently impressed with the sanctity of

the place to consider it holy ground ; we preferred to enter with ours on. The little sanctuary is divided into two small apartments : in the first (F in the plan), faintly illumined by the few rays of light that struggled in at the door, and by an occasional gleam from the lamps of the inner chamber, we found our pilgrim friends hurriedly kissing a marble block, said by the monks to be the seat of the angel who announced to the women after the Resurrection that Christ was not there, but was risen. We passed into the sepulchral chamber (G) by a narrow door, over which a curtain was drawn. Nearly half of this chamber is taken up by the sarcophagus ; a marble shelf, thirty inches high, three feet broad, and six feet long. A number of lamps of gold and silver, the gifts of Christian princes, are kept constantly burning over the tomb ; and as the room is very small, and generally filled with a succession of visitors, the air is close and oppressive. When I entered the chamber, three or four pilgrims were prostrate upon the edge of the sarcophagus, rapt in an intense devotion, such as I have never seen elsewhere. It seemed as though they would breathe out their lives in the deep-drawn sighs which they uttered ; and they pressed their burning and convulsed lips upon the tomb, as if they would draw the very power of redemption from the insensible marble. I could not but be interested in such a scene as this, mournful and degrading as it was ; nor, indeed, could I restrain an involuntary shudder, as I pressed my hand upon the cold stone, and, for a moment, thought that *possibly* the Saviour of the world might have lain there.

There are other points in and about the rotunda to which the attention of pilgrims is directed, but I need mention only the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, which is shown upon the left (H), distant a semi-diameter of

the nave, or more than fifty feet, from the sepulchre of Christ; and this, too, notwithstanding the statement of the Evangelist, that Joseph laid the body of Christ "in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out of the rock."* On the north side is the Chapel of the Franciscans, whose apartments form the only portion of the church that is exclusively in the possession of Roman Catholics. As we passed out of the sepulchre, their vespers began; and the tones of a fine organ, blending with the voices of a dozen singing boys, swelled through the galleries, arches, and chapels of the immense edifice with fine effect. All this, however, is very annoying to the ecclesiastics of the Greek Church, in whose sacred exercises instrumental music is not allowed.

The choir of the church (K) forms the Chapel of the Greeks, and belongs entirely to them. The high altar stands at the eastern end; and in the centre of the pavement is a low pillar (L), surrounded by a railing, said to cover the spot from which God took the earth out of which Adam was formed! The Greeks believe this spot also to be the centre of the earth, and hence call it the "navel of the world." This chapel is lavishly gilt, and hung round with a multitude of small tawdry paintings.

Outside of the Greek Chapel is shown an altar (N), over the spot where Christ was kept while preparations were making for the Crucifixion, and another which marks the place where the soldiers drew lots for his garment! A little farther on is a flight of steps, thirty-one in number, descending to the little gloomy vault called the Chapel of Helena (O), in which is a simple altar in memory of the Christian empress who founded the sepulchre, but no ornaments or decorations. De-

* Matt., xxvii., 60.

scending still lower by another flight of steps, we came to a small cavity (P) in the rock, from which the cross of our Saviour, and those of the thieves who were crucified with him, were said to have been exhumed by the aforesaid Christian empress, who was directed in her search by inspiration from on high! On the discovery of the crosses, there was some perplexity in regard to the identity of that on which Christ hung; but the Bishop Macarius soon suggested an infallible test—the efficacy of the crosses in healing diseases. A noble lady lay sick at Jerusalem: she touched two crosses without effect, but at the first touch of the third she was immediately restored to health. Such is the legend of the finding of the true cross: a legend which, with all its absurdities, is believed as implicitly by thousands at the present day as the truths of Scripture themselves, and perhaps more so.

Our last object was to see the supposed Calvary. Ascending from the pavement of the church by a flight of twenty-two steps cut in the rock, we came into the Chapel of the Crucifixion (Q). The natural rock is cut away, and the walls and floor laid in marble, so that it is impossible to ascertain the exact form or dimensions of the rock beneath; but the slabs are perforated with apertures, disclosing the three holes which received the crosses, and the rent in the limestone said to have been made by the earthquake at the time of the Crucifixion. The length of the chapel is about forty-five feet, and its distance from the sepulchre about one hundred and twenty.

I have remarked that the Church of the Sepulchre is not in the exclusive possession of any one religious sect. The Turkish government derives a considerable revenue from the rent of chapels and altars in it for the

Copts, Armenians, Abyssinians, and others, and from the rivalry especially of the Catholics and Greeks, who bid against each other, it is said, for the right of worship at particular and favourite localities. This state of things leads to many disgraceful scenes; and on the great festivals, when all parties wish to perform their ceremonies at the same altars, furious quarrels occur among the rival worshippers, making the interference of the Turkish soldiers absolutely necessary. Thus wretchedly is Christianity represented in Jerusalem by two of its most powerful sects. Even the very soldiers that guard the sepulchre, and make gain from the fees of the pilgrims that visit it, do not refrain from expressing their disdain and disgust for Christianity; and I shall not soon forget the marked and even triumphant smile of superiority which two of these men cast upon me just as I was leaving the church, at the moment when the cry of the muezzin from an adjacent minaret broke upon their ears, "*God is great—there is but one God!*" The expressive play of their countenances asked me, almost as plainly as words could have done, "Can these degrading superstitions be acceptable to Allah, who is a spirit? Can these quarrelsome Christians be his true worshippers?" I visited the church three several times, and each time I came away sad and dejected, under the painful conviction that its very existence, so long as it is a centre of superstition and an object of strife, is a curse to Christianity. Had I been born a Jew or a Moslem in Jerusalem, nothing short of the miraculous power of God could have converted me to Christianity, so utterly worthless and degrading are its daily exhibitions on the very spot where it is claimed to have been consummated by the death and resurrection of its Author.

SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

It is not my intention to enter at large into the discussion which has been so long carried on in regard to the site of the Holy Sepulchre. My readers are aware that a large class, not merely of ignorant pilgrims, but of learned writers, both Catholic and Protestant, have maintained, and do still maintain, that the present Church of the Sepulchre really covers the very spots where our Lord was crucified and buried; while, on the other hand, it is maintained with equal earnestness, and certainly with equal learning, that there is no sufficient reason for believing in the identity of the present church with the scene of those memorable events, but, on the contrary, that it can be clearly shown that they *could not* have occurred on the spot to which tradition assigns them.

The arguments in favour of the identity of the sepulchre have been lately set forth in the strongest light by Dr. Olin,* who has certainly presented that side of the question with great ingenuity and skill. On the other hand, Dr. Robinson has examined the historical and topographical arguments involved in the question with his usual ability,† and declares, as the result of his investigations, that he is led “irresistibly to the conclusion that the Golgotha and tomb now shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are not upon the real places of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of our Lord.” With this opinion I must coincide, influenced not merely by the force of Dr. Robinson’s arguments, but by my own observation of the topography of the places concerned, in view of which I could not but reject the tra-

* Travels in the East, vol. ii., p. 276.

† Researches, vol. ii., p. 70, seq. Bib. Sac., vol. i., p. 171.

dition, even though it were ten times better authenticated than it is. Referring my readers, who may desire a fuller view of the argument, to Dr. Robinson's pages just cited, I shall now briefly indicate the grounds on which I reject the tradition in regard to the site of the sepulchre.*

In the first place, the tradition itself rests upon insufficient grounds. In reality, it goes back no farther than the time of Eusebius, and what he says upon the subject bears strongly against the notion of there having been extant, in his day, a *previous* tradition in regard to this site. He states the discovery of the sepulchre to have been a miracle, inasmuch as "impious men, or, rather, the whole race of demons through their instrumentality, had made every effort to deliver over that illustrious monument of immortality to darkness and oblivion." It is true that the same writer declares that a Temple of Venus had been erected over the spot, and subsequent writers ascribe this temple to Adrian, A.D. 135; but from all that Eusebius says, it can only be gathered that Constantine selected the spot on which the temple had stood, *not* that it stood over the Sepulchre of Christ. There is no record, no tradition, that goes beyond the fourth century, then, in relation to this celebrated site; and all that Chateaubriand and those who follow him can adduce to fill up this blank of three centuries are theoretical considerations upon the probabilities of the case. It is not likely, say they, that the

* Although others had suggested that the church could not cover the sites of the Crucifixion and burial, I believe Dr. Robinson is the first who presented the whole strength of the argument in favour of this opinion. Since the publication of his able *Researches*, Puseyism has added its great learning and enterprise to the efforts of Catholic superstition to revive the credulity of the Western churches in the traditionary sites of the East, particularly of Gebel Mousa in Horeb, and of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

early Christians would have forgotten scenes so memorable as those of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. A short answer to this is, that, so far as we can learn, they *did* forget them, and there is not a single allusion to them in the New Testament, nor in the apostolic or primitive Fathers, and that it was left for Constantine, guided by supernatural revelation, to discern them with much toil and difficulty.

In the second place, if the tradition were far better authenticated than it is, the topography of the places concerned would be sufficient to invalidate it. According to the statements of the New Testament, the place of the Crucifixion was outside of the walls of Jerusalem, though nigh unto the city ; but, at present, the supposed site of the sepulchre is at a considerable distance within the western wall, and only 407 yards distant from the northwestern angle of the Temple area, according to Dr. Robinson's careful measurement. The question to be settled, therefore, is, Could the spot now shown as the site of the Holy Sepulchre have been without the walls of Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion of Christ ? It is fortunate that we have, in Josephus's account of the walls of the city, the means of determining this question with some degree of accuracy. According to that writer, the city was defended by three walls, the first of which ran directly from Hippicus to the western portico of the Temple ; the second began at the Gate of Genneth, near Hippicus, and *encircling* the northern part of the city, extended to the Castle of Antonia ; while the third, beginning also at the same point, ran north and northeast, enclosing the hill Bezetha. The first of these walls obviously ran within the present site of the sepulchre ; the third was erected after the Crucifixion ; and we have only, therefore, to

decide whether the *second*, which existed at the time of the Crucifixion, did or did not include within it the site in controversy.

The statement of Josephus in regard to this wall is simply the following: "The second wall had its beginning from the gate which they called Genneth, belonging to the first wall; it encircled only the northern part of the city, and extended as far as to the Tower Antonia."* Although this language is not so precise as might be desired, it yet affords some means, if not of deciding the course which the wall really pursued, at least of determining a direction in which it could *not* have been drawn. A wall extending directly from the Tower of Hippicus, or from any point near it in the first wall, to the Castle Antonia, could not be said to "*encircle* the northern part of the city." Nor could this phrase be used in regard to a wall running northwardly from a point east of Hippicus, and turning sharply to the right, as in such a course it must, in order to reach Antonia. This last hypothesis, or even the better one so ably presented by Dr. Olin, which makes the second wall to cross the ridge of Acra below the Church of the Sepulchre, and curve to the north, east, and south, seems to me to be entirely inconsistent with any rational purpose for which such a wall could have been intended. Was it designed to defend the suburbs of the city outside of the first wall? These additions would naturally be made in the valleys at their shallowest parts, and on the slope of Acra opposite Mount Zion, and would be ill defended by a wall so low down the ridge as the hypothesis requires, with the hill rapidly rising above it on the northwest, from which it might have been commanded in every part by military engines. This single considera-

* Jewish War, v., 4, 2.

tion appears to me to be fatal to any theory which requires the course of the wall to lie east of the Sepulchre. Again, it is hardly to be supposed that a wall would be erected expressly for the enlargement of the area of the city, and yet take in so little of the heights of Acra, one of the most eligible spots for building about Jerusalem, especially when there was no reason to the contrary. And that it did so run as greatly to enlarge the capacity of the city, seems evident from the population it enclosed, which is indicated by the fact that, according to Josephus, 1,100,000 *men* perished in the siege, and 90,000 were sold into captivity. A single glance at the area of the city, if the second wall excluded the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, would satisfy any one that there could not have been room for the population indicated by these numbers of men. The known population at the time seems to be decisive of the course of the second wall, which was built expressly to "encircle" the overflowing suburbs that had covered the adjoining hills of Acra and Bezetha, and of course must have *included* the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which therefore cannot be over the scenes of the crucifixion and burial, as they were without the city.

In all the aspects of the question in which I can view it, I am constrained to adopt the opinion that there is no sufficient ground for believing in the identity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the scene of our Lord's crucifixion and burial: but, on the contrary, that the conditions of the Scripture narrative cannot be fulfilled, in view of the accounts of Josephus, and the unerring testimony of the localities themselves, by this supposed site of those memorable events. *Where* they did occur is a question that in all human probability will never be answered; and although we may regret that

time and violence have removed all memorials of places so distinguished in the history of God's dealings with men, we may be abundantly consoled by the reflection that our Christian faith needs no such memorials to rouse its activity, so long as it is written that "Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification."

CHAPTER XXXI.

RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

Four Interpretations of Prophecies relating to the Restoration.—The last adopted.—Prophecies adduced and examined.—A literal Restoration set forth by Ezekiel and Jeremiah.—A political State to be constituted.—Proofs from the New Testament.—Conversion of the Jews to be connected with their Restoration.—Collateral Questions.—Ezekiel's Valley of Vision.—Restoration of the Ten Tribes.—Second Advent to be *preceded* by the Restoration.—Duty of Christians in regard to the Israelites.—Their Restoration closely connected with the Triumph of Christianity.—Dispersion of the Jews.—Characteristics.—Their influence in Literature and Politics.—Adaptation for the Missionary Work.—Signs of the Times.—Present State of the Jewish Mind.—Sentiments of Christians towards the Jews.—The State of Palestine.—Condition of the Turkish Empire.

I COULD not “walk about Zion,” formerly the “joy of the whole earth,” but now desolate, without dwelling upon the prophecies which foretell her restoration, and anticipating the time when she shall again appear “beautiful for situation,” and when “glorious things shall be spoken” of the chosen city of God. I could not travel through the land which God had granted by a perpetual deed to the patriarchs and their posterity without considering whether that covenant has yet been accomplished—whether Israel is to remain an outcast from the hills and valleys of Judea forever, or whether the Lord shall restore the wanderers again, and cause the hills to clap their hands, and the valleys to bloom as in the splendid days of the prosperity of Judah.

The question of the literal restoration of the Jews is one of absorbing interest, not merely to them, but to Christians, from the close connexion of the destinies of Jews and Christians in the “sure word of prophecy.”

That there are many passages in both the Old and New Testaments which declare the restoration of Israel, neither Jew nor Christian doubts ; but the difficulty is to decide in what sense that restoration is to be understood. Four principal interpretations of these prophecies are offered :

1. It is maintained that the Restoration was accomplished in the return of the Jews from Babylon, under the decree of Cyrus.

2. A second view is, that their conversion to Christianity, which would restore them to the favour of God under the new covenant, is all that is implied in the prophecies.

3. The theory of many of the literalists is, that the predictions can only be fulfilled by the gathering of *all* the Jews from all quarters of the earth, and their political establishment in Palestine.

4. A fourth interpretation declares that the Jews, scattered abroad in all nations, shall be converted to Christianity, and that they shall return to Palestine in sufficient numbers to people the land and to constitute a permanent political state.

After a careful examination of these four interpretations, I have adopted the last, as being best warranted both by the terms of the prophecies and the signs of the times. Of the many prophecies I shall select two or three of the most prominent.

“ But ye, O mountains of Israel, ye shall shoot forth your branches, and yield your fruit to my people Israel, for they are at hand to come. For behold, I am for you, and I will turn unto you, and ye shall be tilled and sown ; and I will multiply men upon you, all the house of Israel, even all of it, and the cities shall be inhabited, and the wastes shall be builded ; and I will set-

tle you after *your old estates*, and will do *better unto you than at your beginnings*; yea, I will cause men to walk upon you, even my people Israel, and thou shalt be their inheritance, and thou shalt no more henceforth bereave them of men. Because they say unto you, Thou land devourest up men, and hast bereaved thy nations, therefore thou shalt devour men no more, neither bereave thy nations any more.”—*Ezek.*, xxxvi., 8–14.

It is impossible that the terms of this prophecy can be fulfilled short of a literal restoration of the “house” or family of Israel to the “mountains of Israel—their old estates.” The question then is, Was the prophecy fulfilled by the return from the Babylonian Captivity? Two of its marked terms could not have been fulfilled by that event: 1. The Jews were to be settled in their old estates, and established *better than at their beginnings*. These last words can be referred to no other event than their settlement in Canaan under Joshua, and their prosperity from that time to the flourishing era of David and Solomon: this was their first period, or “their beginnings.” But their condition from the time of the return from Babylon to the destruction of their place and nation by the Romans was infinitely inferior, both as it respects the glory of the state and the happiness of the people, to their condition from the time of Joshua to Solomon. 2. This prophetic period of their prosperity, which was to be “better than their beginnings,” was to continue “henceforth,” so that the land should “no more henceforth be bereaved of men—no more devour its men.” These men, of course, must have been men of Israel. But it is well known that after the return from Babylon, the soil of Palestine was soaked with the blood of Israel, and there were whole centuries that a Jew was not allowed to set his foot on the

Promised Land. Even up to this hour it is bereaved, not only of Jews, but of its population; the cities are uninhabited, and the land is waste. This prophecy is yet to be fulfilled by the restoration of the Jews, and their establishment as a political state.

The eleventh chapter of Isaiah is allowed on all hands to be a prophetic description of the triumph of the Gospel: a consummation which could not in any way, of course, be connected with the return of Israel from Babylon. Yet the restoration of the Jews is closely connected with it. "In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious. And it shall come to pass *in THAT day*, that the Lord shall set his hand again THE SECOND TIME to recover the remnant of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth" (verses, 10, 11, 12). These verses fix the restoration of Israel at least within the Gospel period, which began five hundred years *after* the return from Babylon, and of course they cannot be referred to it. And yet, as if to prevent the possibility of such a reference, the prophet recognises that return as the *first* recovery of Israel, and declares that the burden of his prophecy was the recovery of Israel "a SECOND time." Now as this *second* recovery is to occur in connexion with the triumph of the Gospel, we know undoubtedly that it has not taken place; for Israel is yet dispersed among all nations, and still remains in unbelief.

In the thirty-first chapter of Jeremiah is a prophecy concerning the restoration that absolutely precludes either a spiritual interpretation or an application to the return from Babylon. "Behold, I will bring them from the *North* country, and gather them from the *coasts of*

the earth." The return from Babylon was from the East, not from the North. But in this *second* restoration the prophet says expressly, "Thou shalt yet plant vines on the mountains of *Samaria*: the planters shall plant and eat them as common things." So far from the Jews planting vines on the mountains of *Samaria* after their return from Babylon, there were "no dealings between the Jews and Samaritans." This prophecy is therefore yet to be fulfilled.

These passages are sufficient to establish the certainty of a literal restoration of the Jews to the Promised Land in sufficient numbers to constitute a people—a political state; and yet the terms of the prophecies show clearly that such return has not yet taken place. There is still another condition of this second return which has not been mentioned, and which has not yet been fulfilled in the Jews: that is, an unexampled improvement in their moral and religious condition, arising from their acknowledgment of the Messiah. In one of the prophecies already recited from the thirty-sixth chapter of Ezekiel, it is said, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and will give you a heart of flesh; and ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers, and ye shall be my people, and I will be your God." Certainly this description of Israel has never been true since their captivity at Babylon.

This religious and prosperous estate of the Jews is essentially connected with their reception of the Messiah, and their own Scriptures declare it shall take place in his day. In the twenty-third chapter of Jeremiah it is said, "I will gather the remnant of my flock out of

all countries whither I have driven them ; I will set up shepherds over them ; I will raise unto David a righteous Branch ; in his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely ; and this is the name whereby he shall be called, **THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.**" All commentators, Jewish and Christian, understand the "Branch"—"the Lord our Righteousness," to be the Messiah. He had not come at the time of the return from Babylon under Cyrus. Of course this prophecy cannot refer to that return. Since the coming of the Messiah, the Jews, instead of "dwelling safely" in their own land, have been scattered among all nations and trodden under foot in every part of the world. Of course this prophecy is not yet fulfilled in respect to them.

The Messiah has come, and his rejection by the Jews was followed by their dispersion. This dispersion, and subsequent restoration and acknowledgment of the Messiah, the "righteous Branch of David," is the burden of these prophecies. The time of their dispersion after the crucifixion of their Messiah, until their restoration and acknowledgment of him, is called the "times of the Gentiles," and is strongly marked by our Lord in these words : "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations ; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."—(Luke, xxi., 24.) So the apostle says expressly that the dispersion and blindness of Israel are only temporary. His words are, "Blindness in part has happened unto Israel, *until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in : and so all Israel shall be saved.*"—(Romans, xi., 25, 26.)

Hosea describes the dispersion of Israel, and determines the period of their restoration. "For the chil-

dren of Israel shall abide many days without a king, without a prince, without a sacrifice, without an image, without an ephod, and without a teraphim. Afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the *latter days*.”—(Chapter iii., 4, 5.) This description will not apply to the condition of the Jews during their captivity at Babylon, but is strikingly true of them since their city has been trodden down of the Gentiles. It is to be remarked, moreover, that their restoration is to be “in the latter days,” which is a term applied expressly to the period of time marked by the reign of the Messiah. “God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake unto our fathers by the prophets, hath in these *last days* (“latter days”) spoken unto us by his Son.”—(Heb., i., 1.) The restoration of the Jews spoken of by Hosea must therefore take place in the *latter days*, or in the times of the Messiah.

Many other passages might be added of the same import, but these are sufficient to warrant the conclusion *that the Jews, as a people, will be restored to Palestine, and there constitute a political state; and that in close connexion with this event will be their general conversion to Christianity*. It is not within my plan to discuss the *time* when these events shall take place, but I may say that the general agreement of commentators, the prevailing feeling among Jews and Christians, and the internal and political condition of all nations, indicate that the time is at hand. But when we say that *the time is at hand* with respect to any great movement of God's general providence, we mean to indicate a portion of time relatively to the whole cycle employed to accomplish the grand purpose. “Time is at hand,” then,

is a phrase which, when used in reference to the movements of Divine Providence, may comprehend ten, fifty, or a hundred years, through which period God directs the incomprehensible agencies which are working out the purposed event. The first French Protestant of the day has said, "Providence moves through time as the gods of Homer through space—it makes a step, and ages have rolled away."*

There are several collateral questions justly calculated to incite a deep interest in the Christian world, which are not satisfactorily answered by the determination of the two main points, viz., the restoration of the Jewish state in Palestine, and the general conversion of the Jews to Christianity. For instance, the question whether their previous conversion is a necessary condition to their restoration? The probability is that it is not. Whether it will be simultaneous with their restoration? Perhaps not; but it will probably follow rapidly, and be general, but not absolutely universal. Whether the Lord Jesus Christ will appear in person at Jerusalem as their king? There are several prophecies which appear to favour the supposition that he will, and that the first resurrection will take place at the same time, but the general tenour of Scripture and Providence are against it. Whether the Ten Tribes are to be included in the return? The weight of prophetic evidence is in favour of the Ten Tribes participating in the return, but yet it appears certain that Judah shall be pre-eminent.

Speaking after the manner of men, the return of the Jews and the conversion to Christianity seem to be impossibilities, considering their present dispersed and degraded state, and particularly their almost invincible ignorance of Christianity, and their inveterate hatred of it.

* Guizot : Hist. of Civilization, p. 28.

Yet the beneficent purposes of God shall be accomplished, even by bringing them out of their graves, as it were, and giving them life. The following prophecy, in the thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, commonly called the Vision of Dry Bones, clearly establishes three things: 1. An intellectual and religious regeneration of the Jews; 2. A restoration of their political state in the Promised Land; 3. That this state will comprehend the Jews proper and the Ten Tribes. The reader will please observe, that these events are to be brought about mainly by explaining the prophecies, and enforcing them upon the attention and hearts of the Jews by preaching.

“The hand of the Lord was upon me, and carried me out in the Spirit of the Lord, and set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones; and he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest. Again he said unto me, Prophesy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live; and I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I am the Lord. So I prophesied as I was commanded; and as I prophesied there was a noise, and behold, a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. And lo, the sinews and the flesh came upon them, and the skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them. Then said he unto me, Prophesy unto the wind, and say, Thus saith the Lord God, come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. So I prophesied, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army. Then he said unto me, Son of man, *these bones*

are the whole house of Israel. Therefore prophesy and say unto them, thus saith the Lord God, Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, *and bring you into the land of Israel.* And ye shall know that I am the Lord when I shall put my Spirit in you, and ye shall live; and I shall place you *in your own land.*"

This is the first part of the vision, comprehending the regeneration and restoration of Israel. The second part commences at the fifteenth verse, and seems decisive of the restoration of the Ten Tribes in conjunction with Judah and Benjamin, and their union in one kingdom and one religion.

"The word of the Lord came again unto me, saying, Moreover, thou son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it, *For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions*; then take another stick, and write upon it, *For Joseph, the stock of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel his companions*; and join them together *into one stick*; and they shall become one in thine hand. And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, *and bring them into their own land*; and I will make them *ONE NATION in the land upon the mountains of Israel*; and one king shall be king unto them all; and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all."

It is a matter of importance, considering the recent painful excitement in various parts of our country concerning the Second Advent of our Lord, to observe, that these prophecies settle one point beyond dispute—that the Advent cannot *precede* the restoration of the Jews, whether this restoration be only spiritual, to Christianity,

or literal also, to the Promised Land. Every Christian, therefore, may settle it in his mind not to look for the Second Advent until he has seen the restoration of the Jews. It would be the part of wisdom to direct all the zeal and sacrifice which have been shown concerning the immediate Advent towards bringing about the restoration of the Jews, which must precede the coming of Christ; and this is true whether his coming be personal, literally to reign upon the earth a thousand years, or whether, which is the more probable, the millennium will consist in the triumph of Christianity in all nations. That Christianity will thus triumph in the East there is no doubt, and there ought to be as little that its triumph is essentially connected with the restoration of the Jews; for Paul says in the 11th chapter to the Romans, "I say, then, Have they stumbled, *that they should fall?* God forbid: but *through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles.* Now if the fall of them (the Jews) be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulness (i. e., how much more shall their fulness or restoration enrich the world)? For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving (restoration) of them be but life from the dead?" (verses 11-16). "For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part has happened unto Israel, *until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so (then) all Israel shall be saved*" (verse 25). The cause of the rejection and dispersion of the Jews, the Apostle expressly affirms, was "unbelief" (verse 20); and then says, "If they abide not still in unbelief, they shall be grafted in again into the good olive-tree," which is Christ. To remove their unbelief, and to inspire them with faith in Christ, is a sacred duty, incum-

bent upon the whole Christian Church for two most weighty reasons.

First, we derive our religion, with all its train of blessings, from the Jews ; so that, with great propriety, we may say, "Salvation is of the Jews." It was by the ministry of Jews that we Gentiles received the Gospel. They spread it through Europe probably as far as to Britain, at the expense oftentimes of their lives. Every Prophet, every Apostle, every Evangelist, was a Jew. From the Jews we have received every word of the lively oracles of God : the Bible, under God, is the gift of Jews to the Gentile world. A Jew "according to the flesh" was our Atonement, and is now our great High Priest, passed into the heavens to appear in the presence of God for us, and thence he will come again to be our final Judge. The Apostle, in attempting to inspire the Gentile Christian with respect for the Jew, says, with great force, "Thou bearest not the root (the Jew), but the root thee" (verse 18). He even makes the indebtedness of the Gentiles to the Jews for "spiritual things" the foundation of "duty to minister unto them in carnal things."—(Rom., chap. xv., 27.) How much more, then, is the Gentile Church under obligation to repay them in spiritual things, and thus restore them to the favour and communion of their God ?

Secondly, a careful study of the New Testament will satisfy the inquirer that the latter days are to be marked by three great events, which are intimately connected with each other, the second and third being essentially dependent upon the first.

The first is the general conversion of the Jews to Christianity, a fact so earnestly defended by St. Paul in the 11th chapter of his Epistle to the Romans : "I say, then, Hath God cast away his people ? God forbid ;

for I also am an Israelite. Even so, then, at the present time (*as there always has been*) also there is a remnant according to the election of grace. God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew." He then mentions "their fulness," or conversion to Christianity, as "life from the dead," and declares that this event shall introduce

The second great event which marks the latter days, viz., the triumph of Christianity in the world. "If the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much more (*shall*) their fulness (*enrich the world*)? (verse 12). For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world (*to God*), what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?" (verse 15). That state of great prosperity in the Church indicated in common Christian parlance by the *Millennium—the Latter-day Glory*—and expressed in Scripture by the triumphant declarations, "Alleluia, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth; for the kingdoms of this world are converted, and have become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ," is to be brought about by the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. The intimate connexion between their conversion and that of the world is indicated not only by the Scriptures, but also by the wonderful distribution which God has made of the descendants of Jacob, and the peculiar religious character with which he has impressed them.

The fact of their dispersion and preservation as a separate people, so that they have never been reckoned among the nations, is not more remarkable than the *extent* of their dispersion. There is not a country under heaven where the acknowledged descendants of Judah and Benjamin are not found—not a language which they do not speak. Of these two tribes alone there are seven millions scattered through the East by

the Almighty, to work the redemption of the world in his own time. In Poland there are one million; in the Russian Empire there are two millions; in Germany seven hundred and fifty thousand; in the Low Countries ninety thousand; in France seventy-five thousand; in England sixty thousand; in Italy two hundred thousand; in North and South America one hundred thousand; in the Mohammedan states of Europe, Asia, and Africa, three millions; in Persia, China, Hindostan, one million. Notwithstanding their dispersion thus widely, on all religious questions there is a wonderful sympathy between their most distant communities. A movement in Germany is felt in Spain; a question started in India attracts attention in New-York; an attempt at inquiry or reformation in London puts Jerusalem in commotion. This sympathy is not owing altogether to the common unity of their religious hope and faith, but in part to the close and constant correspondence carried on among them throughout the world. Frederic the Great acknowledged the superiority of his information derived through the Jews, both with respect to its speed and accuracy. They are one great community, whose pulsations proceed from one common heart which God has given them.

The Jews are scarcely less remarkable for *zeal* for religion, and hatred to idolatry, than for their dispersion, unity, and sympathy. For eighteen hundred years they have been plundered, trodden down, banished, and put to death in a thousand forms, all of which evils they might have avoided by renouncing their religion. Yet, as a people, they have never wavered in their national faith. Their hatred to the semblance of idolatry has shut them up from the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, which has never converted them

except by the dread of confiscation, banishment, or death. These conversions have been only in appearance, not in heart; secretly they have remained Jews both in faith and worship. Some of these apparent converts, as in Spain, have been members of the government, and even generals of the Inquisition.

To their *dispersion*, their *unity*, their *sympathy*, their *religious zeal*, and their *hatred to idolatry*, is to be added the very little-observed fact of their literary and political, as well as commercial influence throughout the world. We are used to consider Jews only as pedlers or money-jobbers; we have not been accustomed to think of them as occupying professorships in the first universities of Europe, as being members of national senates, as leading on national armies to victory, and as sitting in the cabinets of kings. Annihilate them, their property, their influence, and their relations with society, and the world would receive a shock from which it would not recover for centuries. The following passages, quoted from B. D'Israeli, himself a Jew, and a member of the British Parliament, may require a little abatement on the score of national bias and the manner in which the facts are put, but in their great outlines they are true. It is the language of a Rothschild, under the title of Sidonia, to Coningsby:

“You never observe a great intellectual movement in Europe in which the Jews do not greatly participate. The first Jesuits were Jews; that mysterious Russian diplomacy, which so alarms Western Europe, is organized and principally carried on by Jews; that mighty revolution, which is at this moment preparing in Germany, and which will be, in fact, a second and greater Reformation, and of which so little is as yet known in England, is entirely developing under the auspices of

Jews, who almost monopolize the professorial chairs of Germany. Neander, the founder of Spiritual Christianity, and who is Regius Professor in the University of Berlin, is a Jew. Benary, equally famous in the same university, is a Jew. I think there are more than ten professors in this university who are Jews.

“A few years back we were applied to by Russia. I resolved to go myself to St. Petersburg. I had, on my arrival, an interview with the Russian minister of finance, Count Cancrin: I beheld the son of a Lithuanian Jew. The loan was connected with the affairs of Spain. I resolved on repairing to Spain from Russia. I travelled without intermission. I had an audience immediately on my arrival with the Spanish minister, Señor Mendizabel: I beheld one, like myself, the son of a Nuovo Christiano, a Jew of Arragon. In consequence of what transpired at Madrid, I went straight to Paris to consult the president of the French council: I beheld the son of a French Jew, a hero, an imperial marshal, and very properly so, for who should be military heroes if not those who worship the Lord of Hosts?”

“And is Soult a Hebrew?”

“Yes; and several of the French marshals, and the most famous—Massena, for example; his real name was Manasseh: but to my anecdote. The consequence of our consultation was, that some Northern power should be applied to in a friendly and mediative capacity. We fixed on Prussia, and the president of the council made an application to the Prussian minister, who attended a few days after our conference. Count Arnim entered the cabinet, and I beheld a Prussian Jew. So you see, my dear Coningsby, that the world is governed by very different personages to what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes. * * *

“But the passionate and creative genius that is the nearest link to divinity, and which no human tyranny can destroy, though it can divert it; that should have stirred the hearts of nations by its inspired sympathy, or governed senates by its burning eloquence, has found a medium for its expression, to which, in spite of your prejudices and your evil passions, you have been obliged to bow. The ear, the voice, the fancy teeming with combinations, the imagination fervent with picture and emotion, that came from Caucasus, and which we have preserved unpolluted, have endowed us with almost the exclusive privilege of music—that science of harmonious sounds which the ancients recognised as most divine, and deified in the person of their most beautiful creation. I speak not of the past, though were I to enter into the history of the lords of melody, you would find it in the annals of Hebrew genius. But at this moment even musical Europe is ours. There is not a company of singers, not an orchestra in a single capital, that are not crowded with our children, under the feigned names which they adopt to conciliate the dark aversion which your posterity will some day disclaim with shame and disgust. Almost every great composer, skilled musician—almost every voice that ravishes you with its transporting strains, spring from our tribes. The catalogue is too vast to enumerate—too illustrious to dwell for a moment on secondary names, however eminent. Enough for us that the three great creative minds, to whose exquisite inventions all minds at this moment yield—Rossini, Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn—are of Hebrew race; and little do your men of fashion—your ‘muscadins’ of Paris, and your dandies of London—as they thrill into raptures at the notes of a Pasta or a Grisi, little do they suspect

that they are offering their homage to the sweet singers of Israel !”

Keeping in mind this review of the number, dispersion, positions, and peculiar characteristics of the Jews, together with the clearly-revealed purpose of God, to accomplish their sudden and general conversion to Christianity, and “break down the wall of partition between them and the Gentiles” (Eph., ii., 14), we may form some idea of the army of Evangelists which God is preparing to appear in every part of the earth at once ; missionaries which shall not be sent thousands of miles, at vast expense, by voluntary societies, but Evangelists who shall start up among the people by thousands in every city, by hundreds in every town, by scores in every village, and by tens in every hamlet and neighbourhood throughout the whole earth, and proclaim to them “in their own language the wonderful works of God.” Having acknowledged Jesus to be the Messiah, they will display the same zeal in favour of Christianity that they had before displayed in defending the hope of Israel in a Messiah to come. And as their past history will be a standing miracle in favour of their mission, so their high destiny will impel them to the work, until they shall accomplish the yet unfulfilled promise to Abraham, that in his “seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.” In accomplishing this promise, their simple faith in the one living and true God, in one single atonement for sin, and their attachment to a pure spiritual worship, will lead them to work a thorough reformation in the Roman Catholic Church, by banishing the supremacy of the Pope, the worship of the Host, the worship of images, the invocation of saints, auricular confession, masses for the dead, and the doctrine of purgatory ; and thus “the Man of Sin” will be destroyed, whose destruction the

Apostle represents as closely connected with the latter-day glory. "For the Lord shall consume him with the Spirit of his mouth (*by preaching the pure Word*), and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming." (2 Thess., ii., 8.)

The preceding remarks have been applied to the descendants of Judah and Benjamin known to be Jews; but the prophecies produced include the *Ten Tribes* also, which for many centuries have escaped the most patient inquiry. Supposed remnants of them have been found in the interior of Asia,* and traces of them in various parts of the earth. It is probable, as the missionary Mr. Herschel, a learned and pious Christian Jew, remarks, that they will never be discovered in a body, as they have perhaps melted away among the heathen, according to the prophecy: "The Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from one end of the earth even unto the other; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood and stone."—(Deut., xxviii., 64.) This prophecy is not true of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, as far as worshipping idols is concerned, and must be restricted to the *Ten Tribes*. Yet the promise of conversion to Christianity and their restoration to Palestine includes the *Ten Tribes* as well as Judah and Benjamin; they are therefore to be added to the host of missionaries which shall spring from Judah and Benjamin; and as the *Ten Tribes* are dispersed among the *heathen*, their influence in the conversion of the world will be exerted chiefly on the *heathen*, as the influence of Judah and Benjamin will be felt principally in the Roman Catholic and Mohammedan populations among which they are chiefly scattered; and as they are also found among the Chris-

* See Journals of Mr. Wolff: also, more recently, of Mr. Samuel.

tian populations of the Greek, Armenian, and Coptic churches of the East, whose corruptions of doctrine and worship are the same in substance as those of the Roman Catholics, with the exception of the supremacy of the Pope, so their influence on these churches will be the same as on the Roman Catholics.*

It will be perceived that the preceding opinions are founded on the supposition that the greater part of the descendants of Jacob will remain dispersed through the earth. This is not inconsistent with the undoubted fact of the restoration of the Jewish state in Palestine. It will be restored by the operation of political and social causes working gradually until the result shall be concluded and established by political combinations. The restoration of the state is all that prophecy requires, or the analogy and designs of Providence warrant. It is admitted that the fertility of the Promised Land shall be restored, yet by the natural means by which any other land in similar condition would be renovated. But when restored, it never can receive and support (in addition to the population found there at the time, and which we have no reason to suppose will be cast out) the many millions of the descendants of Jacob.† The restoration will be to the extent of the ability of the land; the remaining millions will continue to dwell amid all

* It is not within my plan to enter into a defence of the opinion that there will be a sudden and general conversion of the Jews to Christianity. Such an event would be less wonderful than their preservation and past history, which are standing miracles, seen and acknowledged by all. The following exclamation, put into the mouth of Zion personified, indicates their sudden and wonderful conversion: "Who hath begotten me those, seeing I have lost my children, and am desolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; these, where had they been? Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles and they shall bring thy sons in their arms; kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers.—(Isai., xlix., 22, 23.)

† It has been seen that there are 7,000,000 of Judah and Benjamin alone; how many millions of the Ten Tribes we cannot even conjecture.

nations; having been emancipated from civil disabilities, assimilated to them by a common and pure religion, and connected with them by the various relations of business and society, they will cease to be a peculiar people, but will amalgamate with the Christian nations, "the partition wall" between them and the Gentiles being "broken down."*—(See also Col., iii., 10, 11.)

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Thus far I have considered the conversion and restoration of the Jews by the light of prophecy. Let us now notice the *signs of the times*. Professor Bush has well said, "It is ever to be borne in mind that the fulfilment of prophecy is effected by the *ordinary* course of Providence, in which the agents act from appropriate motives, and without the express design of accomplishing the purpose of Heaven." Among the signs which indicate the near approach of the conversion and restoration of Israel, I shall point out four, which perhaps are principal, certainly decisive: the state of the Jewish mind; the sentiments of Christian nations and churches towards the Jews; the state of Palestine; and the condition of the Turkish Empire.

The present state of the Jewish mind.—Its most remarkable characteristic is a firm and general expectation that the restoration under the Messiah is at hand. This impression is as general and deep as was the expectation which prevailed at Jerusalem just before the birth of our Saviour, when the people "waited for the consolation of Israel, and looked for redemption in Jerusalem."—(Luke, ii., 25–28.) Another recent characteristic of the Jewish mind is an inclination among the

* It is well known that the Jews do now assume the dress, and adopt the customs of the people among whom they live, except in so far as they are restrained by law or by their religion; repeal the one and change the other, and they will necessarily amalgamate with the nations.

higher orders of the people to liberal studies, by which the Jewish mind is insensibly but surely assimilating to that of Christian Europe. The great corruption of the Jewish religion is of precisely the same character as the Roman Catholic, *i. e.*, the Jews have attached themselves as firmly to the *traditions* of their elders contained in the Talmud,* as the Roman Catholics to the traditions of their Church; and, in both cases, traditions are substituted for the Word of God. The pursuit of liberal and scientific studies by the higher order of Jews is emancipating the Jewish mind from the bondage of Rabbinical learning, and is reviving the study of the Scriptures and the use of the Hebrew language. This great fact, now in process of development, bears the same relation to the conversion and restoration of the Jews, that the rejection of ecclesiastical tradition and the restoration of the Bible to the people as their sole Rule of Faith did to the Reformation of the sixteenth century. This remarkable emancipation of the Jewish mind from the Rabbinical fetters of a thousand years was commenced in the last century by Moses Mendelssohn, who may be said to have laid the foundation of a new Jewish literature, containing a large infusion of the higher and stronger knowledge which characterizes the Christian nations. Some of the immediate results of this movement are, that the finest Jewish minds are drawn to Christian colleges either as students or professors; and liberal schools, and even national institutions, are founded for the instruction of their people.

* The Talmud is held to contain the instructions which God gave to Moses at Mount Sinai, and which were not incorporated in the written law. They were handed down orally, and constituted the *traditions of the elders*, until several centuries after Christ, when they were imbodyed in a written volume by a learned Rabbi. This volume is the Talmud, and is held to be of equal authority with the Scriptures, and more proper to be studied, inasmuch as it is easier to be understood.

Only a few months since, the corner stone of the National Institution for England was laid in Birmingham, with imposing ceremonies, followed by a splendid dinner, at which Sir Moses Montefiore presided, in the presence of some of the most distinguished men of the land. Many minor schools have also been founded, and able periodicals commenced, whose earnest and conflicting discussions must tend further to awaken the Jewish mind, and remove the "blindness which has happened to Israel." Even in Jerusalem, on Mount Zion, through the benevolence of Sir Moses, there is an active printing establishment, containing two presses and employing eighteen men. It has produced great commotion among the Jews in Jerusalem, and given rise to a general correspondence throughout Europe. These are *signs of returning life*.

Already has this emancipation of the principal minds among the Jews in Europe produced marked results. Many individuals have openly renounced the Talmud and fallen back upon the Bible. Thousands more have privately done the same (not openly, because of the tyranny of their Rabbis), as the excellent missionaries of the London Society assure the public. In some places, as at Frankfort-on-the-Maine (and in London also, though not to the same extent), powerful societies have been formed, openly rejecting the Talmud and the Rabbinical authority. The new sect at Frankfort has become so powerful, and exerted such influence among the European Jews, as to call forth a general circular letter from the learned and venerable Rabbi Frier to the chief Rabbis on the Continent, many of whom sent long and learned replies, advising the most vigorous measures for the suppression of the new sect.

Another characteristic of the Jewish mind at present

is a tendency to faint in the hope of a Messiah to come. The Jews have waited so long, that many, as the new generation of Jews in Germany, begin to doubt whether the promises of a Messiah have not been fulfilled in the blessings of a German Fatherland, in many parts of which they have been emancipated from all civil disabilities, and enjoy perfect toleration of their religion. This class inclines to skepticism. Nevertheless, their influence tends to break up *Rabbinical* Judaism, which is the principal barrier to the restoration of *progressive Scriptural* Judaism, whose prophecies and hopes find their accomplishment in Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah. Rabbinism is "the veil which is upon their eyes when they read Moses," because it professes to explain the Law and the Prophets by a body of tradition which claims to be of equal authority with the written Word of God. They yet, as in the days of the Saviour, "make void the Law by their traditions."

But many others, whose hope of a Messiah to come has wellnigh perished, are beginning to inquire whether Jesus of Nazareth may not be the Messiah. The tendency, perhaps unappreciable to themselves, to adopt this opinion may be seen in three particulars. *First*, their altered tone of feeling and speech towards Jesus as one of their countrymen. They no longer execrate or even vilify him, but, on the contrary, speak of him as a good man, who endeavoured to reform the nation, and fell a martyr to his noble work. They apologize for the conduct of their rulers in putting him to death, pleading as a palliation the peculiar circumstances of the nation at the time. M. M. Noah, in a public lecture in New-York, says, "In reflecting deeply on all the circumstances of this, the most remarkable trial and judgment in history, I am convinced, from the whole tenour

of the proceedings, that the arrest, trial, and condemnation of Jesus of Nazareth was conceived and executed under a decided panic.”* *Secondly*, the great number who diligently inquire in secret, both by reading Christian writings, particularly the New Testament, and by private interviews with the Christian missionaries who are sent among them. These interviews are oftentimes of a most secret and confidential nature, owing to the fearful apprehension which the inquirers entertain of the resentment of the Jewish community, and the tyranny of the Rabbis. *Thirdly*, the increasing number of conversions, notwithstanding the persecutions of their brethren. The converts are becoming more and more numerous every year in various parts of Europe. In Berlin alone, in a Jewish population not exceeding 8000, at least 1000 are Christian Jews. A fair proportion of all converts are of the better classes, and a few of them are Rabbis. Professor Tholuck has said that there have been a greater number of genuine conversions among the Jews within the last twenty-five years than had occurred for 1800 years before. Verily their day is beginning to dawn after a night of twenty centuries.

The altered sentiments of Christian nations and churches towards the Jews.—For nearly eighteen hundred years the Christian nations seem to have regarded the Jewish people as the murderers of the Lord of Life and Glory; and as they had said, “Let his blood be upon us and our children,” so the Christian nations seem to have considered it their duty to inflict all manner of degradation and punishment upon them. If all the Christian edicts, laws, and ordinances against the Jews

* Mr. Noah quotes in proof the words of Caiphas, the high priest, when in council, concerning the apprehending of Jesus: “It is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.”—(John, xi., 50.)

were collected into one volume, they would form the blackest picture in the whole history of humanity. In what Christian city or kingdom have they not been stigmatized, excluded from the common benefits of social society, shut up by bars and gates in some dark, miserable quarter, plundered, banished, and murdered without inquiry? In various cities and countries they were not permitted to reside at all. For many centuries a Jew could not set foot in England. In some cases they were ranked with cattle, and subjected to tolls accordingly. Degradation, infamy, and oppression in a thousand other forms were heaped upon them. Not unfrequently, when some great crime was committed, or some public calamity had befallen a city or nation, it was expiated by an indiscriminate massacre of the Jews. They were held to be a people accursed of God, and to be sacrificed at any time to appease the Divine displeasure. Indeed, the nations of the earth "have served themselves of the children of Israel." Is it then to be wondered at that they have contracted in their very persons an air of meanness, cowardice, and servility? that, plundered by all men, as a means of redress they have overreached their oppressors by all the petty tricks of trade? As they could not hold real estate, and were in danger of losing their property if it were visible, they became the jewellers and money-changers of the world, so that their substance might be in a small compass, and have an unchangeable value. Hence they have become rich, and are the great dealers in coin and precious jewels in all countries.

But within the last thirty years the policy of the nations towards the Jews has greatly improved. Protection has been extended to their persons and property: in many cities and countries their civil disabilities have

been removed to a great extent, as in France, England, Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemburgh, Baden, and other parts of Germany. These results have been produced by better views of public policy, by the unobserved influence of Christianity, and by the increasing public worth of the Jews themselves. With respect to this last, a striking instance has just transpired.

A Hamburgh letter of November 22d says, "The Senate and College of the Ancients have just declared in favour of emancipating the Jews. What principally decided our two highest bodies in the state to consent to this act of justice is the immense sacrifices which the Jews of Hamburgh have made to succour the numerous victims of the fire of 1842, and the spirit of patriotism and charity with which that body has been animated for a long series of years. The emancipation of the Jews will be, it is said, complete, except that they cannot form part of the Senate, which, indeed, would be impossible ; for all the solemn and public acts of the Senate are intimately combined with religious ceremonies, in which no one could take part without belonging to the predominant religion—namely, the Confession of Augsburg ; so that even Christians of other confessions are in fact excluded from our senates."

Perhaps the change which has taken place in the sentiments and conduct of the Christian churches is more striking than that in the public policy of nations. It is not to be disguised that for many long centuries the Church not only treated the children of Israel with utter neglect, making not the slightest effort to convert them or lighten their burdens, but in a thousand ways manifested her hatred of their persons as well as of their religion, and taught her children to persecute and literally spit upon them ; but lately she has begun to understand

that she has received everything from the Jews in receiving that religion, which has produced the science and civilization of the modern world. She is beginning to feel the sentiment of gratitude; and her best and most elevated members begin to look upon the person of a Jew not only with toleration, but with respect; and the prophetic agency of this wonderful people in the plan of Divine Providence for redeeming the world is inspiring the Church and the nations with a true sense of the duty and service required in the following remarkable passage: "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people: and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers."—(Isai., xlix., 22, 23.)

This growing sense of the Church has begun to produce its appropriate fruits. On the Continent of Europe there are many well-organized societies, having the command of large funds, for promoting Christianity among the Jews, and improving their condition. Those at Basle, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Berlin, Breslau, and Posen, have been very successful. They have many missionaries in the field, numerous schools of Jewish youth under their care; have distributed many tracts, books, Bibles, and New Testaments; established houses of refuge for the protection and support of Jewish converts who are persecuted by their friends, and houses of industry in which these converts may learn some useful trade. The avowed converts are numerous, and increasing every year; and many more, who are restrained by fear and controlling circumstances, are known to the missionaries. The Church of Scotland, two or three years since, sent out a commission to the East to in-

quire into the condition of the Jews, with a view to devising and executing means for their conversion. Their narrative contains a vast fund of information and grounds of good hope for Israel. Upon the report of the commissioners, a general letter was addressed to the Jews, commencing with this salutation: “*The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* SENDETH PEACE: MEN AND BRETHREN, BELOVED FOR THE FATHER’S SAKE.” How strangely must this language of a venerable national Protestant Church sound in the ears of the hitherto down-trodden outcasts of Israel! It will act like a powerful charm on the Jewish mind. If, upon hearing that there was an association of English Christians for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews, a Rabbi on the Continent exclaimed, “My heart overflows with gratitude to hear that God deigns to inspire the Gentiles with such feelings in favour of the miserable children of Zion; for this one fact seems to me a certain proof that the time is approaching when he will have compassion on his people, and will assemble them from the extremities of the earth;” what will the sons of Jacob say when they hear in their dispersion a national Church greeting them with the salutation, “Men and brethren beloved?” The Scotch Church is reaping a rich harvest among the Jews, especially in Hungary.

The Dissenting Churches in England have also formed “The British Society for the propagation of the Gospel among the Jews,” and have entered earnestly into the work; while in the United States, “The American Society for meliorating the Condition of the Jews,” after toiling for twenty-three years, is beginning to attract the attention it deserves. Its chief field of labour is the city of New-York, where reside one third of the Jews in the United States. It has an active missionary employed

in visiting from house to house, preaching by private conversations, and by distributing the Old and New Testaments, and suitable tracts and books. This society publishes a monthly periodical, entitled *The Jewish Chronicle*, which contains a large amount of interesting matter.

But the society which has produced the greatest results, and promises still more blessed fruits, is *The London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews*. It has made its thirty-sixth annual report, from which it appears that its income last year was about \$110,000. It is under the patronage of all the prelates of the Church of England and Ireland throughout the world, and of some of the best of the nobility and gentry. In its greatest undertaking, the establishment of the See of St. James at Jerusalem, it is under the patronage of the King of Prussia and the Queen of England. Already have twenty-three sons of Israel been admitted into holy orders in the English Church; and between seventy and eighty missionaries are employed in those cities in England, in Germany, and in the East as far as Bagdad, where the Jews are most numerous. In the prosecution of their work they employ the press, from which they issue the Scriptures, as well as tracts and books in Hebrew, which is again becoming a living language among the Jews; also in German, and in the various dialects in use among the Jews in various countries. These are sold or given away by the missionaries, and obtain general circulation. Mr. Wolff says he has often met with copies of the Bible and other books in the interior of Asia, which he had sold or given away at Constantinople or Jerusalem. Thus the pure Word of God is supplanting the Talmud, and with it the Rabbinical authority. The society has established a Hebrew col-

lege in London, in which missionaries are educated for their peculiar work. The great majority of these are converted Jews. A similar college has recently been established in Jerusalem, in conjunction with a fine English Church, a hospital, a house of industry, and a medical dispensary, to which is attached an English apothecary and physician. All these institutions, with their appropriate buildings, are situated on Mount Zion, under the shadow of the Tower of David.

But the most interesting result is the establishment of the Hebrew diocese of St. James, the seat of which is in Jerusalem. Its jurisdiction extends over Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and eastward to Bagdad. This great enterprise was undertaken under the joint patronage and protection of the Prussian and English governments, which are to appoint the bishop alternately as the see becomes vacant. The English service, translated into Hebrew, is to be used in celebrating Divine service. Prussia will appoint the next bishop, as England appointed the present incumbent, the Rev. Dr. Alexander, who is a converted Jew. Early in January, 1843, he entered Jerusalem with his clergy, accompanied by the English consuls in Syria and Palestine, and an imposing cavalcade of Turkish dignitaries, and prelates of the Armenian and Greek churches. This great event has created a deep and widespread sensation throughout the East. It has inspired the Turks with an awe and respect for Christianity unknown to them heretofore; and has produced amazement, earnest inquiry, and violent contentions among the Jews. The establishment of the See of St. James is doubtless the most important religious event that has happened in Palestine since its re-conquest by the Mohammedans. Already has the bishop visited Hebron, Jaffa, and other places of in-

terest, and stationed his clergy for their appropriate work. His residence is on Mount Zion, near the church; and the public buildings to be connected with his diocese, viz., the church, the college, the hospital, the dispensary and their appendages, will be among the most imposing structures in the city. I had the pleasure of passing several weeks with Mr. Habersham, an architect sent out by the society to inspect the works and their progress. From him I learned that their completion will cost about \$150,000, a very large sum to be expended in building in the East, where labour is exceedingly cheap.

But the prospective *political* bearing of this Hebrew diocese is perhaps a matter of much greater interest than its immediate religious results. It is doubtless intimately connected with the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, chiefly under the auspices of England and Prussia. It is not to be affirmed that these governments instituted this measure with the sole, or even chief intent to accomplish this great prophetic event; yet without doubt they looked to the state of the Jewish and Christian mind, which these prophecies have produced with regard to the restoration, as a material, perhaps an essential element in their success. That the measure is considered by the five great powers as having an important political bearing, is evident from the fact that, since the organization of the diocese, France, Russia, and Austria have sent their consuls to Jerusalem, where there is neither trade nor commerce to be encouraged or protected. At this hour, the consular representatives of the five great guardians of Europe and the East are established in the Holy City, without any employment or object apparent to the public. The man may now be living who will see Jerusalem divide

with Constantinople the discussions of the representatives of the nations for the settlement of *The Eastern Question*. Its solution involves the fall of Turkey, the extinction of Mohammedanism, the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth, and the triumph of Christianity.

In farther support of the opinion that the Hebrew diocess of St. James at Jerusalem has a deep, hidden political bearing, I will assume the generally conceded fact that the Turkish Empire is approaching its fall. It lies between Europe and the vast population and wealth beyond the Euphrates. The possession of its territories by any of the five great powers will destroy the political balance in Europe, and draw after it the control of India, China, indeed the whole Eastern world. The momentous question is, When the decayed fabric of the Moslem Empire shall fall to pieces, who shall possess its various parts? They must be occupied by new Christian states, or divided and appropriated by the five great powers. Their disposition is *the* great Eastern Question—perhaps the greatest political question of modern times—and its solution will quickly devolve on the Christian powers. For this they are preparing. They have long been gathered together at Constantinople, and have recently assembled at Jerusalem, as eagles gather where the carcass is. Each is augmenting its interest on the soil where the great question is to be solved. Austria, by means of the proximity of her territory, has influence in European Turkey and access to its provinces. Russia has obtained a similar, and even greater influence by like causes, and by her connexion with the large, influential, and wealthy population of the Greek Church, which is under her protection and in her interest throughout the empire. In *Syria alone* this population amounts to

350,000. France bears the same relation to the Roman Catholic population throughout the empire, which, with the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, amounts in *Syria alone* to 260,000. To these two communions add the thousands of Armenian Christians found in the principal towns, and it will appear that *one third of the population in Syria is Christian*, and this, too, by far the most intelligent, wealthy, and active, and is increasing yearly.* Prussia is too far distant, and being Protestant, has no interest on the soil in Syria; she therefore combines with England, whose influence lies in the weight of her name and in the presence of her navy in the Levant. She has no population on the soil in her interest. The object of England and Prussia combined is to create such a population in their interest as a counterbalance to the great and growing Christian populations in the interest of Russia and France. England wants this population in Syria, which comprehends Palestine, because the possession or control of Syria will give her great commercial advantages, and uninterrupted access to Persia, India, and the East. Considering the number and wealth of the dispersed Jews; the prophetic assurances of their return; their universal disposition to return at almost any hazard or sacrifice; and the influence of these facts on the common Christian mind, it was as natural as it was wise and good in England to seek to avail herself of all these influences to assemble a population in Palestine in her own interest, and take the great event so intimately connected with the regeneration of the world under her immediate patronage and protection. When the time has come for the swoop of the eagles on the carcass, the predominant effect of a large Jewish population in Palestine in the interest of England will not

* West. Rev., Jan., 1841, p. 97, Am. ed.

be problematical with respect to the destination of Syria. The Jewish commonwealth will appear again under the protection of England, for which advantage compensation may be given to Austria in Bosnia and Servia, to Russia in Moldavia and Wallachia, perhaps at Constantinople, and to France in Egypt, to consolidate her African possessions.

But, it will be said, England can never relinquish her passage to India by Cairo and Suez. She does not necessarily relinquish it by allowing France to possess Egypt. Besides, a fact which, to my knowledge, has never been mentioned by any writer or traveller, may fully counterbalance the importance of the passage through Egypt. She could more easily open even a ship canal from the head of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea at Akabah, through Wady Arabah to the Dead Sea, than make a railroad from Cairo to Suez, or than France could make a canal from Suez to the Mediterranean, because it is now established beyond all doubt that the gulf at Akabah lies hundreds of feet higher than the Dead Sea, and the water shed in the Arabah is only thirty miles north of the head of the gulf, and from it the water, in the rainy season, flows unobstructed through the Arabah to the south end of the Dead Sea. The distance from the junction of the two gulfs of the Red Sea at Ras Mohammed is a fourth shorter to Akabah than to Suez, and the transit from Akabah to Jaffa by a canal in the Arabah, and a railroad from some point on it, perhaps Ain el Weibeh (Kadesh Barnea), to Jaffa, along the present caravan route, would be quicker and cheaper than from Suez by Cairo to Alexandria.* Coal could be transported from England to

* A railroad from Akabah up the Arabah to Ain el-Weibeh, and thence to Jaffa, would not exceed 150 or 160 miles, one half of which would lie in the

Jaffa for the railroad, and from Jaffa, by the railroad and Arabah Canal, to Akabah for the India steamers, at a tenth part of the expense at which it is now conveyed first to the Nile, and then transhipped for Cairo, from whence it is taken on camels to Suez. Besides, the possession or controlling influence in Syria would open the recently discovered coalmines of Mount Lebanon,* from whence could be derived a supply almost at hand.†

The political bearing here given to the Hebrew diocese of St. James ought not to form any objection to it. It is to be remembered that God accomplishes his great purposes through the agency of nations, and of individuals in their political capacity; and if it were a very great honour to Cyrus to have been the divinely-appointed agent of delivering the Jews from their captivity at Babylon, and restoring them to their country, what honour will it be to England to have been the chief instrument in their greater restoration to their country and their Messiah? It will fill up the measure of her glory as a benevolent and Christian nation.

The present state of Palestine is another sign indicating the restoration of the Jews, and their conversion to Christianity. The facts to be particularly remarked are the emptiness of the land with respect to population, indicating that Providence is making room for the sons of Israel. The land is comparatively "desolate without inhabitant." Every few miles the traveller passes amid

comparatively level valley of the Arabah, and would be as easily constructed as the projected road from Suez to Cairo. There is no impediment to extending it from Weibeh to Jaffa, about seventy-five or eighty miles. This would make the distance from Ras Mohammed to Jaffa much shorter than to Alexandria by Suez and Cairo, and would shorten the time by several days.

* Foreign Quart. Rev., Jan., 1840, p. 17, Am. ed.

† The eastern gulf of the Red Sea has been examined recently by Lieut. Wellstead, of the Indian Navy, and "its depth throughout its whole length is unknown, no bottom having been found."—*Lond. Quart.*, April, 1838.

the ruins of cities, towns, and villages, whose inhabitants are gone. The population is still decreasing; but it is to be noted that this decrease is altogether among the Mohammedans. There is a gradual increase of the Christian population, and within a few years a rapid increase of the Jewish. When the sons of Israel shall be permitted to acquire permanent titles to the soil, and be protected in the enjoyment of its products, the whole land will become fruitful as in former days: the stones will be gathered out of the valleys; the hills be terraced; the pools and cisterns cleansed and repaired, and filled with the early and the latter rains; the cities and towns be rebuilt; and the land will teem again with its millions of people.

The state of the Turkish Empire was the fourth sign which I mentioned; but this has been sufficiently discussed for the present in the remarks on the Hebrew diocess at Jerusalem. A chapter will be found near the conclusion of the second volume on the condition and prospects of the Mohammedan Empire. When we consider the prophecies, the state of the Jewish mind, the present sentiments of Christian nations and churches towards the Jews, the present state of Palestine and of the Turkish Empire, we have a convincing mass of evidence in favour of the speedy restoration and conversion of the sons of Israel.